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## BROWNING'S ANCIENT CLASSICAL SOURCES

BY THURMAN LOS HOOD

BROWNING'S discernible borrowings from Greek and Latin range from quotation and translation to reminiscence and imitation; they sometimes contain allusions to the sources, but generally they do not; they sometimes represent commingled sources, ancient and modern; they sometimes appear to come from works so little drawn upon by the poet that on the slender basis of one or two suspected borrowings it is unsafe to infer that he was familiar with them. The vigorous assimilation to which he subjected his classical materials at once increases the interest and diminishes the assurance of attempts to add to the body of sources already determined. In general, however, attributions may be securely established — not the less so through the mere increasing of the number of analogies considered. A view of the entire available evidence of Browning's direct indebtedness to the Classics is sometimes as illuminating with regard to a single detail as it is with regard to the total relationship between the poet and his Classics.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with *Balaustion's Adventure* and *Aristophanes' Apology*, a sharp distinction is to be drawn between what comes from ancient sources directly and what comes primarily from Browning's immediate predecessors and contemporaries in classical interpretation. August Wilhelm Schlegel is Balaustion's "critic-friend of Syracuse," whose criticism is so repugnant to her in *Balaustion's Adventure*. His *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* determined many points and provided many details on which Browning focused attention in

<sup>1</sup> This monograph includes much of the material in a dissertation on *Browning's Later Hellenic Poems*, submitted to the Faculty of Harvard University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. For aid in the preparation of that dissertation, thanks are particularly due to Professor Le Baron Russell Briggs, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and to Professor Carl Newell Jackson. Professor Edward Kennard Rand has also given valuable assistance in connection with certain portions of this monograph.

*Aristophanes' Apology*; indeed, in that poem it is Schlegel's criticism of Aristophanes that provides most of the ideas about Aristophanes' work, and his notorious antipathy to Euripides that Browning makes the chief object of attack. From Augustus Meineke's *Historia Critica Comitorum Graecorum*<sup>1</sup> Browning drew in *Aristophanes' Apology* not only the critical judgments of the writers of the Old Comedy<sup>2</sup> but the particulars of the ancient laws and other checks restraining Comedy. The *Scholia in Aristophanem* contained the information which Meineke adduced regarding these laws and checks; Browning, it is clear, had also read the *Scholia*; but the use of this class of material in *Aristophanes' Apology* is of such a nature as to indicate primary indebtedness to Meineke. John Addington Symonds's *Studies of the Greek Poets* (First Series) suggested not only many of the critical ideas in *Aristophanes' Apology* but something of its tone. The works of Landor exercised conspicuous influence. It is only in the light of such associations that Browning can be criticized as a Victorian Hellenist.<sup>3</sup> But between such considerations and the task of identifying Browning's direct borrowings from ancient sources a sharp line should be drawn.

There is in Browning's works, moreover, a large element of classicism that can hardly be definitely correlated with the ancient sources on which it very probably depends. There is much mythology of a general and familiar sort; there are a few thrice-familiar quotations; there are some details of ancient life, of indeterminate origin; there are a dozen passages suggested by ancient sculpture; and there are several details from the Vulgate, the Greek New Testament, Church Latin, and Law Latin. All these belong to a separate field of investigation.

Among the more important contributions to the knowledge of Browning's ancient sources should be mentioned Mrs. Sutherland Orr's *Handbook to the Works of Robert Browning*; Professor Carl

<sup>1</sup> Volume I of Meineke's edition of the *Fragmenta Comitorum Graecorum*.

<sup>2</sup> See Carl Newell Jackson: "Classical Elements in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), p. 54, n.

<sup>3</sup> The writer has investigated Browning's relations to Schlegel, Symonds, Landor, Edward Fitzgerald, and Meineke, in the dissertation mentioned above (p. 79, n. 1), and hopes soon to publish a detailed account of them.

Newell Jackson's monograph on "Classical Elements in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*," in Volume XX of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*; the introductions by Sir F. G. Kenyon in the Centenary Edition of Browning's *Works*; and Mr. A. K. Cook's *Commentary upon Browning's THE RING AND THE BOOK*. The dependence of the present investigation on these authorities is so obvious as to make individual acknowledgment of the first printed mention of particular sources needless, even were it convenient.

The method here employed in setting forth the *loci classici* is designed to disclose the chronology of Browning's borrowings from the various ancient writers. The ensuing sections follow the alphabetic order of the names of Greek and Latin writers, and within each section the analogies are arranged in the chronological order of Browning's poems. The numbering of the lines is that of the Centenary Edition. The following abbreviations are employed: *R. & B.* for *The Ring and the Book*, *B. A.* for *Balaustion's Adventure*, and *A. A.* for *Aristophanes' Apology*. Except to identify phrases, passages from the poems are not quoted; similarly, if the location of the source is the most important information about it, it is merely referred to. Translations are employed except when special point rests in the reproduction of the original words.

#### BROWNING AND AELIAN

*Sordello*, III, 900, "Tempe's dewy vale": *Varia Historia*, 3, 1. Browning's phrase here is of course too familiar to warrant the assertion that Aelian's great description of the vale of Tempe suggested it; but it may have done so.

*R. & B.* I, 232-237: *De Animalium Natura*, 11, 15. The story in Aelian runs as follows: νῦν δὲ ζοικα λέξειν ἐλέφαντος ὀργὴν ἐς γάμον ἀδικούμενον. μοιχευομένην γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πωλεύσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ τρέφοντος γυναῖκα ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ καταλαβὼν, δι' ἀμφοτέρων θάτερον διεῖς τοῖν κεράτοι, ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν μοιχὸν καὶ τὴν μοιχευομένην, καὶ εἶασε κείσθαι κατὰ τῶν στρωμάτων τῶν ὑβρισμένων καὶ τῆς εἰνῆς τῆς πεπατημένης, ὡς ἐλθόντα τὸν πωλευτὴν καταγνῶναι καὶ τὸ ἀδίκημα καὶ τὸν τιμωρήσαντα αὐτῷ γνωρίσαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἰνδικὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐξεφοίτησε δεῦρο· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Τίτου ἀνδρὸς καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτὸν γεγονέναι· προστιθέασι δὲ ὅτι ἄρα ὁ ἐνθάδε ἐλέφας



ἀπέκτεινεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ ἱματίῳ κατεκάλυψε, καὶ ἐλθόντι τῷ τροφεῖ ἀποβαλὼν τὸ ἱμάτιον κειμένους ἀλλήλων πλησίον ἀπέδειξε, καὶ τὸ κέρας δέ, ὥπερ οὖν διέπειρεν αὐτούς, καὶ τοῦτο ἡμαγμένον ἔωρᾶτο. Cf. *R. & B. VIII*, 511-521.

*R. & B. VIII*, 511-521,<sup>1</sup> under *R. & B. I*, 232-237, above.

*A. A.* 118-119: *Varia Historia*, 4, 22, 'The ancient Athenians clad themselves in purple mantles, and wore tunics of varied colors.'

*A. A.* 316-317: *Varia Historia*, 2, 21, 'Archelaus praised this, the story goes. And the poet Euripides also loved this same Agathon, and is said to have composed the drama of *Chrysippus* to please him.' And *Varia Historia*, 13, 4, 'Archelaus rex sumptuosum convivium amicis apparavit: increbesciente autem complotatione, quum meracius biberet Euripides, sensim in ebrietatem est delapsus. Deinde accumbentem sibi Agathonem, tragicum poetam, complectens exosculatus est, annos circiter quadraginta natum. Archelao autem interrogante, an etiamnum ipsi in deliciis habendus videretur? respondit, Per Jovem, omnino: non enim ver solum formosorum est pulcherrimum, verum etiam autumnus.' (Hercher's version.) These passages not only establish the friendship of Euripides and Agathon, but their simultaneous presence at the court of Archelaus, mentioned in *A. A.* 1203-1205. Cf. *A. A.* 1443-1444.

*A. A.* 448-452: *Varia Historia*, 4, 22, 'The ancient Athenians wore purple mantles and varicolored tunics; and setting clusters of flowers upon their locks, and golden grasshoppers among them, and putting on other ornaments of gold, walked abroad. And boys followed them with folding chairs, lest they should be obliged to sit down fortuitously, as chance might hap. It is evident, also, that their diet and the rest of their way of living were rather delicate. But though such they were, they won the day at Marathon.' On *A. A.* 451, "golden tettix in his hair," see "Browning and Thucydides."

<sup>1</sup> That Browning was not sure where he had seen this story may be implied by the words with which Dominus Hyacinthus is made to introduce the tale:

witness him

That Aelian cites, the noble elephant,  
(Or if not Aelian, somebody as sage)

. . . . .

A. A. 742-746: *Varia Historia*, 1, 20, 'He (Dionysius) even ordered his men to remove the silver table from the temple of Apollo, proposing to the god the pledge to the Good Genius.' The proposal of this pledge was designed, of course, to indicate to the god that the feast was over, and that he would no longer need the table. Cf. A. A. 780; 1350-1351; 1353; 1393; 1473; and 1543. See also "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Athenaeus."

A. A. 780, under A. A. 742-746, above.

A. A. 1203-1205, under A. A. 316-317, above.

A. A. 1350-1351, under A. A. 742-746, above.

A. A. 1353, under A. A. 742-746, above.

A. A. 1393, under A. A. 742-746, above.

A. A. 1443-1444, under A. A. 316-317, above.

A. A., 1473, under A. A. 742-746, above.

A. A. 1543, under A. A. 742-746, above.

A. A. 1556-1560: *Varia Historia*, 2, 13, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι καὶ οἱ σκευοποιοὶ ἐπλασαν αὐτὸν ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξεικάσαντες, κ. τ. λ.

That is, 'the maskmakers'<sup>1</sup> had done Socrates to the life.

A. A. 2183-2184, "praise away, Friend Socrates": *Varia Historia*, 2, 13, 'Indeed, Socrates rarely went to the theatre save when the tragic poet was contesting with new plays; but then he went. And when Euripides contested in the Piraeus, he went there also. For he loved the man not only on account of his wisdom but on account of the goodness of his poetry.'

<sup>1</sup> Light is thrown on the mistaking of these maskmakers for "potters" by a letter of the poet's to Elizabeth Barrett, dated March 6, 1846, nearly thirty years before the publication of the *Apology*. In it, Browning quotes a portion of Chapter XIX of Bartoli's *Simboli* which reproduces Aelian's account of Socrates at the performance of the *Clouds*. "He describes the character of Socrates," writes Browning, "then tells the story of the representation of the *Clouds*, and thus gets to his 'symbol' — 'le pazzie fatte spacciare a Socrate in quella commedia . . . il misero in tanto scherno e derisione del pubblico, che perfino i vasai dipingevano il suo ritratto sopra gli orci, i fiaschi, i boccali, e ogni vasellamento da più vile servigio. Così quel sommo filosofo . . . fu condotto a far di se par le case d'Atene una continua commedia, con solamente vederlo comparir così scontraffatto e 'ridicolo, come i vasai sel formavano d'invenzione' —

"There you have what a very clever man can say in choice Tuscan on a passage in Aelian which he takes care not to quote nor allude to, but which is the sole authority for the fact. Aelian, speaking of Socrates' magnanimity, says that on the

- A. A. 3296-3301: *Varia Historia*, 2, 13. The main substance of the story in Aelian appears in the quotation from Browning's letter to Elizabeth Barrett, under A. A. 1556-1560, above.
- A. A. 5477: *Varia Historia*, 12, 43, 'Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lysander were called *Mothaces* in Lacedaemonia. The name was given to the slaves of the wealthy whom the fathers sent to share in exercising with their sons. Lycurgus, in establishing this custom, granted to those who remained in the company of young men the right of participation in public affairs.' See "Browning and Athenaeus."

BROWNING AND AESCHYLUS<sup>1</sup>

*Pauline*, 567-571: *Agamemnon*.

*Sordello*, I, 65-68, refers to the plays of Aeschylus as "The thunder-phrase of the Athenian, grown Up out of memories of Marathon." . . . "his own sword's griding screech Braying a Persian shield," may have been suggested by the statement in the ancient *Vita*, γενναῖον δὲ αὐτὸν φασὶ καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κυνεγείρῳ, and by the epitaph recorded in the *Vita*:

Δισχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κείβει  
μνήμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας·  
ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἄν εἴποι  
καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

first representation, a good many foreigners being present who were at a loss to know 'who could be this Socrates' — the sage himself stood up that he might be pointed out to them by the auditory at large . . . 'which' says Aelian — 'was no difficulty for them, to whom his features were most familiar, — *the very potters being in the habit of decorating their vessels with his likeness*' — no doubt out of a pleasant and affectionate admiration. Yet see how 'people' can turn this out of its sense, — 'say' their say on the simplest, plainest word or deed, and change it to its opposite!"

Both Bartoli and Browning are mistranslating *σκευοποιοί*, as 'potters' instead of 'maskmakers.' The error is due to the fact that *σκεῦος* may mean 'pot.' In the Latin version of Justus Wetteranus (printed "apud Ioan. Tornaesium. Typogr. Reg. Lugd. MDXXCVII") the line is translated 'non mirum si etiam visus in histrionum personis: nam figulos etiam pulchre eum persaepe expressisse constat.' Browning was by no means alone in the mistake.

<sup>1</sup> Under this head are included materials adduced not only from the plays but from the *Scholía* and the *Vita*.

*Sordello*, III, 951-959, compares Landor with Aeschylus, referring to Landor's poems in which Aeschylus figures, and in the words "You who, Plataea and Salamis being scant, Put up with Aetna for a stimulant" apparently comparing the wanderings of Landor to the journey of Aeschylus to Sicily at the end of his life, as recorded in the *Vita*. We learn from the *Vita* also that Aeschylus bore a noble part τῆς τε ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας σὺν τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀμεινία, καὶ τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πεζομαχίας. Similar materials are used in "Aeschylus' Soliloquy."

"Artemis Prologizes," 21, "lust that, as the gadbee stings," seems reminiscent of the οἶστρος of *Prometheus Vincitus*, 566 and 879; but the οἶστρος was used often as the symbol of mania by Sophocles and Euripides elsewhere than in these famous lines in the *Prometheus*.

*A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, Act III, Scene I, 220-222, is suggested by the *Eumenides*, primarily.

*Christmas-Eve*, 1104, "the halt and maimed 'Iketides,' refers to the condition of the text of that play.

*Easter-Day*, 329-335: *Prometheus Vincitus*, 250-252,

'*Prometheus*. Yes, I stopped mortals from ever looking forward to their fate.

*Chorus*. By devising what remedy of that malady?

*Prometheus*. I caused blind hopes to dwell among them.'

"Cleon," 305, mentions the plays of Aeschylus.

"A Death in the Desert," 530-537, refers to the story of the *Prometheus*, and especially to lines 109-111, in which Prometheus says, 'I obtained by stealth the source of fire, stored away in a fennel-stalk; (that little spark) which has proved to mankind the teacher of every art and their great resource.'

*R. & B. X*, 347-352: *Agamemnon*, 813-816.

*B. A.* 76-80: *Persae*, 400-405: δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος | ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῇν ὁμοῦ κλίειν | πολλὴν βοήν, ὧ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε, | ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δέ | παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῶν ἔδη, | θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.'

The same song is referred to as by Aeschylus in *B. A.* 97-98. Cf. *B. A.* 104-105 and 130-132; *A. A.* 3179-3181; and "Pheidippides," 76-77. It is by no means strange that this remarkable lyric, ap-

pearing at the critical moment of Athenian history, should have been often in Browning's mind.

B. A. 97-98, under B. A. 76-80, above.

B. A. 104-105, under B. A. 76-80, above.

B. A. 130-132, under B. A. 76-80, above.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 905-907. "*Theosutos e broteios eper kekramene*," etc., comes from *Prometheus Vincitus*, 116. Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 2210; 2216.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2210, under *ibid.* 905-907, above.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2212-2226: *Prometheus Vincitus*, 115-135:

Πρ. τίς ἀχῶ, τίς ὁδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής,  
θεόσυτος, ἢ βρότειος, ἢ κεκραμένη;  
ἵκετο θερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον  
πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός, ἢ τί δὴ θέλων;  
ὁρᾶτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θεόν,  
τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν, τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς  
δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόνθ' ὁπόσοι  
τὴν Διὸς αὐλήν εἰσοιχνεύσιν,  
διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλόττητα βροτῶν.  
φεῦ φεῦ, τί ποτ' αὖ κινάθισμα κλύω  
πέλας οἰωνῶν; αἰθὴρ δ' ἐλαφραῖς  
πετέρυγων ῥιπαῖς ὑποσυρίζει.  
πάν μοι φοβερὸν τὸ προσέρπον.

Χο. μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· φιλία γὰρ ἄδε τάξις  
πετέρυγων θοαῖς ἀμίλλαις  
προσέβα τόνδε πάγον, πατρώας  
μόγις παρειπούσα φρένας.  
κραιπνοφόροι δέ μ' ἐπεψαν αὔραι·  
κτύπου γὰρ ἀχῶ χάλυβος διήξεν ἄντρων  
μυχόν, ἐκ δ' ἐπληξέ μου τὰν θεμερῶπιν αἰδῶ·  
σύθην δ' ἀπέδιλος ὄχῳ περωτωτῶ.

and *ibid.*, 515-518.

Χο. τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος;

Πρ. Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι μνήμονές τ' Ἑρινύες.

Χο. τούτων ἄρα Ζεὺς ἐστὶν ἀσθενέστερος;

Πρ. οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.

- A. A. 65-69: *Choephoroe*, 935-961, 'Chorus, As Justice came to the sons of Priam in the course of time, a Justice bringing heavy retribution,' etc.
- A. A. 121, mentions Aeschylus.
- A. A. 146-147: *Eumenides*, 46-59, 'And in front of this man there sleeps a wondrous troop of women reposing on seats: women indeed I call them not, but Gorgons; and yet again I cannot compare them to Gorgon forms,' etc. 'This man' is Orestes 'at the central altar' (*Eumenides*, 40).
- A. A. 161, "How Klutaimnestra hated": *Agamemnon*.
- A. A. 251, refers to Aeschylus as dead before Euripides.
- A. A. 716-719: *Vita, ad fin.*, mentions that it was more difficult for Aeschylus to improve tragedy as much as he did over 'Thespis, Phrynichus, and Choerilus' than for Sophocles to advance it a little further over Aeschylus. For the fact of Aeschylus' drinking when he wrote, see "Browning and Athenaeus."
- A. A. 750, "laughed a ripply spread of sun and sea": *Prometheus Vincitus*, 89-90, *ποντίων τε κυμάτων | ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα*. Cf. "Gerard de Lairese," 208-209.
- A. A. 1566: *Prometheus Vincitus*, 803, if ἀκραγείς means 'shrilly croaking,' as is suggested by Professor A. O. Prickard, in the note *ad loc.* in Appendix B, p. 98, of his edition of the *Prometheus* (Oxford, 1907).
- A. A. 1986-1987, "Aischulos might hail — With Pindaros," makes use apparently of the information in the *Vita* that Aeschylus and Pindar were contemporaries.
- A. A. 2019, refers to the *Oresteia* (i.e., the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, and the *Eumenides*).
- A. A. 2133-2137, clearly is designed to represent the religion of tragedy preceding Euripides, and may be specifically reminiscent of *Prometheus Vincitus*, 526-552, where the Chorus begins, 'Never may Zeus the dispenser of all things set his authority in opposition to my will: never may I be tardy in approaching the gods with holy sacrifices of slaughtered oxen by the ever-flowing stream of my father Ocean, and never may I offend in my words.'
- A. A. 2477, refers to Aeschylus as orthodox.
- A. A. 2937-2938, refers to the *Prometheus* and the other plays of Aeschylus.

A. A. 3179-3181, under B. A. 76-80, above.

A. A. 5632-5633, "eleleleleu": *Prometheus Vincitus*, 877.

"Epilogue" (to the *Pachiarotto* volume), 61, mentions Aeschylus and Pindar together. Cf. A. A. 1986-1987, above, for the possible source.

*The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* is a translation of the entire play.

*La Saisiaz*, 579, "thou pine-tree of Makistos, wide thy giant torch I wave!" *Agamemnon*, 287-289, 'the force of this onward-spiced torch with its welcome message, — when the pine-fire, I say, had forwarded its golden light, as a sun, to the heights of Macistus' . . . (Paley's version). Browning's version of the *Agamemnon*, 310, reads, "Pass on—the pine-tree—to Makistos' watch-place." There is no pine-tree of Macistus mentioned in the Greek, and many editors hold that *πέυκη*, line 288, should be emended to *πέμπει*.

"Pheidippides," 76-77, under B. A. 76-80, above.

"Jochanan Hakkadosh," 696-697, "kick 'Against the pricks,'" duplicates the familiar phrase of the *Prometheus Vincitus*, 325, *πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς*. Cf. "Daniel Bartoli," 241.

"Bernard de Mandeville," 204-206, states that Euripides expounds myths better than Aeschylus, in harmonizing the eternal and the human.

"Bernard de Mandeville," 300-305, mentions the service of Prometheus to man; *Prometheus*, especially 254-256,

'Pro. But beside all this, it was I that gave them fire.

Cho. And do these beings of a day now possess the bright element?

Pro. Yes, from which they will learn to practise many arts.'

"Daniel Bartoli," 241, under "Jochanan Hakkadosh," 696-697, above.

"Gerard de Lairese," 170, "blame the Protoplast!" It is barely possible that the name may have been suggested to Browning by the following sentence in the *Scholia*, on *Prometheus Vincitus*, 120: *πῦρ καλεῖται ἡ γυνῶσις, διὰ τὸ δραστήριον, Προμηθεὺς δὲ καλεῖται ἡ προμήθεια καὶ ἡ πρόγνωσις καὶ ἡ πρωτόπλασις, ἣν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔχειν καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ μὴ τινος φροντίζειν*.

"Gerard de Lairese," 181-206: *Prometheus Vincitus*, 519-525, 937-1093.

"Gerard de Lairese," 208-209, under A. A. 750, above.

"Apollo and the Fates" is based, according to Browning's headnote, partly on *Eumenides*, 693-694 and 697-698 (723-724 and 727-728, in the usual numbering), translated thus by Sir F. G. Kenyon:<sup>1</sup>

'So didst thou [Apollo] also in the house of Pheres, when thou did'st persuade the Fates to make mortals undying. . . . Thou did'st bring to nought the dispensation of old time, deceiving with wine the ancient goddesses.' See also "Browning and Euripides" and "Browning and Homer."

Unfinished Draft of a Poem which may be Entitled "Aeschylus' Soliloquy," 1-11 and 34-63:<sup>2</sup>

I am an old and solitary man  
And now at set of sun in Sicily  
I sit down in the middle of this plain  
Which drives between the mountains and the sea  
Its blank of nature. If a traveller came  
Seeing my bare bald skull and my still brows  
And massive features coloured to a stone  
The tragic mask of a humanity  
Whose part is played to an end, — he might mistake me  
For some god Terminus set on these flats  
Or broken marble Faunus. . . .

Ah, ha — these flats are wide!

The prophecy which said the house would fall  
And thereby crush me, must bring down the sky  
The only roof above me where I sit  
Or ere it prove its oracle to-day.  
Stand fast ye pillars of the constant Heavens  
As Life doth in me — I who did not die  
That day in Athens when the people's scorn  
Hissed toward the sun as if to darken it  
Because my thoughts burned too much for the eyes  
Over my head, because I spoke my Greek  
Too deep down in my soul to suit their case.  
Who did not die to see the solemn vests  
Of my white chorus round the thymele  
Flutter like doves, and sweep back like a cloud

<sup>1</sup> Centenary Edition of the *Works of Robert Browning*, X, xv.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the one-volume edition of Browning's *Works* published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1919, pp. 1339-1340. The poem does not appear in the Centenary Edition.



Before the shrill lipped people . . . but stood calm  
 And cold, and felt the theatre wax hot  
 With mouthing whispers . . . the man Aeschylus  
 Is gray I fancy — and his wrinkles ridge  
 The smoothest of his phrases — or the times  
 Have grown too polished for this old rough work —  
 We have no Sphynxes in the Parthenon  
 Nor any flints at Dephos<sup>1</sup> — or forsooth,  
 I think the Sphynxes wrote this Attic Greek —  
 Our Sophocles hath something more than this  
 Cast out on — and their smile — I would not die (?)  
 At this time by the crushing of a house  
 Who lived that Day out . . . I would go to death  
 With voluntary and majestic steps  
 Jove thundering on the right hand. Let it be.

In the *Vita* we read: 'Some say that he went away to Hiero because he was unpopular at Athens, having been beaten by the young Sophocles. . . . But some say that the bringing in of the chorus scattered about at the performance of the *Eumenides* so frightened the public that some were struck dumb, and some miscarried. Coming then to Sicily . . . living three years more, being aged, he met his end thus. An eagle having seized a tortoise, not knowing how to get at his prey, went to drop it on the rocks to break the shell, but it being dropped on the poet, killed him. It had been prophesied, "A blow from heaven will kill you."' (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

#### BROWNING AND AESOP

"Old Pictures in Florence," 47: Aesop, "The Sick Lion."

R. & B. III, 410-419, applies to Guido and Abate Paolo the analogy of Aesop, "The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse." (Cf. "Browning and Horace.")

R. & B. III, 1322; Aesop, "The Mountains in Labor." (Cf. "Browning and Horace.")

R. & B. V, 1092-1093: Aesop, "The Oak and the Reed." Cf. *A. A.* 2819-2828.

R. & B. V, 1096-1098: Aesop, "The Wolf and the Lamb."

R. & B. XI, 443-444: Aesop, "The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." Cf.

R. & B. XI, 820-830; 1176-1191.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Delphos.

R. & B. XI, 820-830, under R. & B. XI, 443-444.

R. & B. XI, 1176-1191, under R. & B. XI, 443-444.

*Fine at the Fair*, 1280-1281: Aesop, "The Frog and the Ox." Cf. "Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration<sup>1</sup> I, 13-14. The fable is reproduced in Horace, *Satires*, 2, 3, 314-320.

A. A. 286: "Shadow of an ass!" Aesop, "The Ass's Shadow." (See also "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch," where the story is given in full.)

A. A. 479-482: Aesop, "The Cock and the Jewel." The analogy here is by no means convincing, but for the sake of the precious object, the ordure heap, and the misunderstanding it is worth citing, especially in view of the fact that the next few lines of the *Apology* are also apparently reminiscent of Aesop.

A. A. 483-486: Aesop, "The Eagle and the Beetle." The "beetle . . . with trundled dung-ball meant to menace heaven"<sup>2</sup> reminds one of the climax of the Aesopic fable: 'Upon this the Eagle, being at a loss what to do, flew up to Jupiter, his Lord and King, and placed the third brood of eggs, as a sacred deposit, in his lap, begging him to guard them for him. But the beetle, having made a little ball of dirt, flew up with it and dropped it in Jupiter's lap; who, rising up on a sudden to shake it off, and forgetting the eggs, threw them down, and they were again broken.' (See also "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 2737-2738: Aesop, "The Lion and the Mouse."

A. A. 2819-2828: Aesop, "The Oak and the Reed." (Cf. R. & B. V, 1092-1093.)

A. A. 5462-5464: Aesop, "The Frogs Asking for a King." See also "Browning and Plutarch."

"Pietro of Abano," 204: Aesop, "The Fox and the Grapes."

"Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration I, 13-14: Aesop, "The Frog and the Ox." Cf. *Fine at the Fair*, 1280-1281. See also "Browning and Horace."

<sup>1</sup> The "Illustrations" are appended to the poem.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the beetle as a metaphor for the critic may have been suggested to Browning by some lines which Alfred Dommest sent to him in 1841. In these lines, which concern "a certain critique on *Pippa Passes*," the critic is compared to a "black squat beetle," "a free, pert, self-complacent scarabaeus." (See Griffin and Minchin, *Life of Robert Browning*, p. 86, where the lines are quoted in full.)

BROWNING AND ALCIPHRON<sup>1</sup>

*Pippa Passes*, Part I, 411, "with Alciphron's 'hair like sea-moss'":

Alciphron, *Letters*, 3, 1, βοστρύχους ἔχει βρύων οὐλοτέρους.

B. A. 4-5, "Petalé,|Phullis, Charopé, Chrusion!" These are the Petalé of Alciphron, 1, 35 and 1, 36; the Phullis of 3, 16 and 3, 45; the Charopé of 3, 1; and the Chrusion of 1, 39. Cf. B. A. 715, "Charopé."

B. A. 27-41: Alciphron, 3, 51, 'O Minerva, guardian and defender of the city, may it be my lot to live and die at Athens! It is better to be stretched lifeless in front of the Diomeian or Knights' gates, to be trampled under the feet of the passers-by, with the bare earth around me for a grave, than to put up with the pleasures of Peloponnesus.' And Alciphron, 2, 3, 'I would not exchange for . . . all the envied valuables of his courts, our yearly Choës, the Lenaea in the theatre, a banquet such as we had yesterday, the exercises in the Lyceum and the Sacred Academy — no, I swear it by Bacchus and his ivy-wreaths, with which I would rather be crowned, in the presence of my Glycera seated in the theatre, than with all the diadems of Ptolemy. For where in Egypt shall I see a democracy enjoying liberty? the legislators in the sacred villages crowned with ivy? the roped inclosure? the election of magistrates? the feast of Pots? the Ceramicus? the market-place? the law-courts? the dread goddesses? the mysteries? the Stenia? neighbouring Salamis, Psytallia, Marathon, all Greece in Athens, all Ionia, all the Cyclades?' In these lines in B. A. appears Browning's most important single debt to Alciphron by way of direct adaptation.

B. A. 50, "Point Malea of bad fame": Alciphron, 1, 10, 'Hence we hear that some are carried along by the current to the promontory of Malea, and others to the Sicilian strait' . . . The course of the voyage in B. A. corresponds to the course mentioned here, and both Alciphron and Browning are dealing with a stormy course. Cf. "Browning and Lucian."

B. A. 64-66: Alciphron, 1, 8, in which the writer does not wish to

<sup>1</sup> Quotations of text and translation, and reference numbers, in this section are from the edition of Alciphron privately printed at Athens for the Athenian Society, in 1896.

- join a crew of Corycian pirates because he has not the heart to become a murderer and stain his hands with gore.
- A. A. 1, "Euthukles": Alciphron, 1, 38, a letter of which Euthycles is the recipient. Browning may also have encountered the name of the obscure comic poet in Meineke's *Fragmenta Comico-rum Graecorum*. He used this letter of Alciphron's again, however, in connection with A. A. 2085-2087.
- A. A. 249-250: Alciphron, 2, 3. Browning used this letter in B. A. 32-41. The crown of ivy appears in it. But "my crown declares my right" (A. A. 1528) seems reminiscent of the crown of Alcibiades in Plato's *Symposium*. Cf. A. A. 689.
- A. A. 449-450: Alciphron, 3, 61, 'that people, who imprisoned Miltiades, in whose honor the trophy at Marathon was set up, and ostracised Aristides the Just.' Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch."
- A. A. 593: Alciphron, 1, 6, in which are mentioned orgies in a house in the Piraeus. Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes."
- A. A. 689, "Bacchos' equipment, ivy," under A. A. 249-250, above.
- A. A. 731, "Mendesian": Alciphron, 3, 5, contains a mention of this sort of wine.
- A. A. 748-755: Alciphron, 1, 1, 'the blackening sea'; 1, 10, 'The surface of the ocean, as you see, is already rough; a thick mist has overspread the heavens; the sky is everywhere covered with clouds'; 1, 17, 'the sea in some parts growing black and rough'; and 3, 1, 'and he laughs more pleasantly than the sea in a calm; his eyes are azure, like the ocean, when the first beams of the rising sun glitter upon it.' On A. A. 750, see "Browning and Aeschylus."
- A. A. 847-849: Alciphron, 3, 55, 'a staff of holm-oak, which, in place of thick knots, was studded with brass nails.' Cf. A. A. 1858-1859.
- A. A. 1053-1054, "huge Taügetan (you guess — |Sparté)": Alciphron, 2, 1, 'Above all, the hateful Lacedaemonians . . . will not cease to abuse our banquet on the mountains of Taügetus and in their solitary fastnesses.' . . . Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Pausanias," and "Browning and Philostratus."
- A. A. 1163, "Murrhiné, Akalanthis": the names appear, respectively, in Alciphron, 1, 37 and 39; and 3, 64. Though Murrhiné is of

course the character of that name in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, it is interesting to find that in the *Apology* she is paired with Acalanthis, who also appears in Alciphron, and that in Alciphron, 1, 39, her name appears beside that of Chrusion, who is mentioned in *B. A.* 5. Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes."

- A. A. 1167-1168: Alciphron, 3, 39, in which the sacrifice to Calligeneia is mentioned as the ceremony of the third day of the Thesmophoria.
- A. A. 1858-1859, under A. A. 847-849, above.
- A. A. 2029-2033: Alciphron, 3, 53, mentions the 'chattering philosophers' infesting the Stoa; 3, 40, describes 'one of those lunatics, who are nicknamed "Dogs" from their mad behaviour . . . a fearful and disgusting sight: he shakes his unkempt hair, he looks wild, goes about half-naked in a threadbare cloak, with a little wallet slung over his shoulders, . . . unshod and filthy' . . .; and 1, 34, is a letter from Thais to Euthydemus, resenting his abandoning her to follow the instruction of a 'scowling sophist,' whose nonsense is simply calculated as a trap 'to fleece young men.' She asserts that the hetairae educate young men better than the sophists do, 'Only, because we are ignorant of the origin of the clouds and the theory of atoms, you consider us to be inferior to the sophists.' She urges Euthydemus to abandon the folly and shake off his disagreeable looks. 'Let us,' she concludes, 'drink moderately, and prove to each other that pleasure is the aim of life. Then you will confess how learned I am! Besides, the Deity only allows us a short time to live; do not waste it foolishly in trying to solve riddles. Farewell.' Browning makes Aristophanes attack the sophists in terms very similar to these in Alciphron. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Lucian." Cf. A. A. 2085-2087.)
- A. A. 2072-2076: Alciphron, 3, 38, *τετυφωμένου σοφιστοῦ*; and 3, 40, 'I blame Draco and Solon; for, while they thought fit to punish with death those who stole grapes, they allowed those who made slaves of young men's understandings to go scot-free.' Alciphron apparently provides the general suggestion for the passage, but on various details see "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Aristophanes."

- A. A. 2085-2087: Alciphron, 3, 23, 'drops of Attic honey, such as is found in the caverns of Brilessus'; 1, 29, 'even the gloomiest of men would not be proof against the charms of Bacchis'; and 1, 38, 'how sweet and pure was the nectar that distilled from her (Bacchis') kisses! It seems to me, Persuasion sat upon her lips.' . . . The whole of Alciphron, 1, 38, is a lament for the death of Bacchis. Bacchis is the writer of letters 1, 30; 1, 31; 1, 32, and the recipient of 1, 39. (On line 2087, see under A. A. 2029-2033, above. Cf. A. A. 3429, "Bacchis." Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus," on A. A. 2086.)
- A. A. 2092-2106: Alciphron, 3, 4, 'For, as he has been brought up under the care of a stern and morose tutor, his ideas are not those of a young man, but he is as austere in his manners as Laches or Apolexias,' . . . ; 3, 14, 'My son, if you want to imitate your father and follow his advice, do not listen to these charlatans whom you see wandering, barefooted and with pale faces, in the neighbourhood of the Academy. They can neither do nor teach anything useful on this earth; they only pore over heavenly things, which they profess to understand'; 1, 34 (quoted above, under A. A. 2029-2033).
- A. A. 2734-2743: Alciphron, 2, 4, Glycera to Menander, 'But how rash and venturesome am I to take upon myself to judge the compositions of Menander — I, a woman who knows nothing about such matters! But I have a clever master in your affection, which has taught me to understand even them; you have shown me that any woman, who possesses natural ability, quickly learns from those she loves, and that love acts without delay. I should be ashamed, by Diana, if I were to show myself unworthy of such a master by being slow to learn.' The problem, of criticizing a comic writer's work to his face, and the authority, that of womanly love, are remarkably alike in the cases of Balaustion and Glycera.
- A. A. 3429, "Bacchis," under A. A. 2085-2087, above.

BROWNING AND AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

- Sordello*, I, 590-603: Ammianus, *Roman History*, 23, 6, 24, 'This (Babylon), however, as we have already related, was stormed by the generals of Verus Caesar, who carried the image of the Cumaeen

Apollo to Rome, and placed it in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, where it was formally dedicated to that god by his priests. But it is said that after this statue was carried off, and the city was burnt, the soldiers, searching the temple, found a narrow hole, and when this was opened in the hope of finding something of value in it, from some deep gulf which the secret science of the Chaldaeans had closed up, issued a pestilence, loaded with the force of incurable disease, which in the time of Verus and Marcus Antoninus polluted the whole world from the borders of Persia to the Rhine and Gaul with contagion and death.'

#### BROWNING AND ANACREON

"Bishop Blougram's Apology," 915, "Anacreon's Greek."

R. & B. IX, 226-228: Anacreon, 2. (Hiller-Crusius, *Anacreontea*, 24), 'Nature has given horns to bulls, hoofs to horses, swiftness to hares, the power of swimming to fishes, of flying to birds, understanding to men. She had nothing more for women. What then does she give? Beauty, which can resist shields and spears. She who is beautiful is stronger than iron and fire.' Cf. R. & B. IX, 425-435. R. & B. IX, 425-435, under R. & B. IX, 226-228, above.

#### BROWNING AND THE *Anthologia Graeca*

"Epilogue" to *The Two Poets of Croisic: Anthologia Graeca*, VI, 54 and IX, 584.<sup>1</sup>

#### BROWNING AND ARISTOPHANES

Outside of *Aristophanes' Apology*, fewer than a dozen lines in Browning's poetry appear to be based on Aristophanes. Since any effective study of the manner in which Browning packed the *Apology*

<sup>1</sup> The tale in VI, 54, runs as follows: 'To Lycorean Apollo doth Locrian Eunomus dedicate the brazen cicada, in memory of his contest for the crown. The contest was in lyre-playing, and opposite him stood his competitor, Parthis. But when the Locrian shell rang to the stroke of the plectrum, the string cracked with a hoarse cry. But before the running melody could go lame, a cicada lighted on the lyre chirping tenderly and caught up the vanishing note of the chord, adapting to the fashion of our playing its wild music that used to echo in the woods. Therefore, divine Son of Leto, doth he honour thee with the gift of thy cicada, perching the brazen songster upon thy lyre.' (W. R. Paton's translation.)

with Aristophanic material entails reference to the entire works of Aristophanes, it is thought that in the present classification of Browning's sources no more than references to the plays need be given. Matter from the *Vitae* of Aristophanes,<sup>1</sup> the *Scholia*,<sup>1</sup> the ancient *Prolegomena de Comoedia*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Argumenta* is also included under this head. The usual abbreviations of the names of the plays of Aristophanes are employed. The analogies between passages in *Aristophanes' Apology* and the Aristophanic materials are printed in sequence, in a solid block.

"Cleon," 15, "crocus vest": *Thes.* 253. (Cf. *A. A.* 1205.)

*R.* & *B.* II, 442, may have been suggested by the *Plutus*.

*R.* & *B.* XI, 2410-2411: *Eq.* 83-84 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Cf. *A. A.* 2074. Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

*B. A.* 33, "Choës and Chutroi": *Ach.* 1076.

*B. A.* 183, "Euoi": *Lys.* 1294.

*B. A.* 184, "Oöp": *Av.* 1395 and *Ran.* 180.

*B. A.* 187, "Babai": *Av.* 272, etc. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") *Fifine at the Fair*, 1461; "Iostephanos": *Ach.* 637; *Eq.* 1323, 1329. (Cf. *A. A.* 937, 5148.)

*A. A.*, the motto: Aristophanes, *Fragmenta*, 693. *A. A.* 76, "enginery," may come from *Pax*, 307. *A. A.* 89, is reminiscent of the *Vespae*. *A. A.* 90,<sup>2</sup> "sham-prophecy-retailer": *Pax* 1047, 1094. *A. A.* 90-91, "scout o' the customs": *Ran.* 363. *A. A.* 92, "altar-scrap-snatcher": *Eq.* 1358. *A. A.* 101, "kordax-step": *Nub.* 540, 555. *A. A.* 106, "Olympian": *Ach.* 530. (Cf. *A. A.* 2014-2015. See also "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 115; *Ach.* 531. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 118-119 may be parallel to the Ecclesia filled with white, *Eccl.* 386-387. *A. A.* 129: *Scholl. Nub.* 859 and *Pax* 605. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 130-132: *Ran.* 934 and *Schol. ibid.* 934. (Cf. *A. A.* 1674-1677.) *A. A.* 176-180: *Schol. Vesp.* 1490. (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.") *A. A.* 199-202: *Ran.* 241-249. *A. A.* 204: *Ach.* 920. *A. A.* 206, "taught," represents the peculiar use of the verb διδάσκω, found in *Ran.* 1026. *A. A.* 227-229: *Ach.* 51-52 and

<sup>1</sup> In Dübner's edition of the *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*.

<sup>2</sup> And perhaps *A. A.* 90-91 refers to the characters in the *Aves*, Ἱερεῖς, Χρησμολόγος, Ἐπισκοπος, and Συκοφάντης.



182-185. *A. A.* 248, "“Speak good words”": *Nub.* 298; *Eq.* 1316. *A. A.* 262-263: *Av.* 292. *A. A.* 285-286, "a bookish store Would stock ten cities": *Ran.* 943 and 1409. (Cf. *A. A.* 1734. See also "Browning and Athenaeus.") *A. A.* 286, "Shadow of an ass!": *Vesp.* 191, and *Schol. ibid.* 191. (Cf. "Browning and Aesop" and "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 287-292: *Schol. Ran.* 53. Browning evidently misinterpreted the scholium, which simply expresses the surprise of the scholiast that Dionysus had not chosen instead of the *Andromeda*, which antedated the *Frogs* by eight years, one of these three plays taken by Browning as forming a trilogy. (Cf. *A. A.* 1330-1331 and 1574. Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") *A. A.* 311-315: *Schol. Ran.* 67. "Alkaion," in line 312, is a misprint for "Alkmaion." *A. A.* 319, "young Euripides": *Schol. Ran.* 67, τὸν νῖόν . . . ὁμῶννυμον. *A. A.* 324, "their favourite": *Ar. Vita* XI, 46-41. (Cf. *A. A.* 905; 939-940; 5148.) *A. A.* 325: *Ach.* 635. (Cf. *Eq.* 78, 261, 1263.) *A. A.* 329-330 may have been suggested by *Ach.* 880-887. Copaic eels are mentioned in *Pax* 1005. *A. A.* 333-335: *Ran.* 690-705 and *Scholl. Ran.* 191 and 698. (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.") *A. A.* 337, "Lais": *Plut.* 179. (But see "Browning and Athenaeus," and cf. *A. A.* 1505 and 5325, where the name is clearly drawn from Athenaeus.) *A. A.* 338: *Nub.* 23 and 109 and *Schol. Nub.* 109. *A. A.* 340-341: *Ach.* 1229. *A. A.* 349-350: *Thes.* *A. A.* 386 is somewhat like *Vesp.* 53. *A. A.* 401: *Eq.* Cleon is a stock figure in some of the comedies of Aristophanes. (Cf. *A. A.* 1200; 1861; 1870; 1900; 2303; 3086; 3102; 3141-3142; 3240; 3302; 3350; 3466.) *A. A.* 411-413: *Schol. Eccl.* 22. This scholium is, however, among those which Browning probably saw also in Meineke's *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum*. *A. A.* 416-443: *Lys.* *A. A.* 417: *Plut.* 656 and *Schol. ad loc.* A better analogy is perhaps in Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 1193. *A. A.* 431: *Thes.* 1125. *A. A.* 432-434: *Ran.* 1043; 1052 sqq. (Cf. *Thes.* 547.) *A. A.* 434: *Thes.* 384-394. (For another detail from the same passage in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, see *A. A.* 1737 and 2535.) *A. A.* 437-439: *Lys. ad fin.* and Διαλλαγή, *Lys.* 1114. *A. A.* 438: *Eq.* 765 and *Thes.* 805. *A. A.* 448: *Nub.* 959. *A. A.* 449-451: *Eq.* 1325, 1331; *Nub.* 984; *Schol. Nub.* 984. (Cf. *A. A.* 880; 1040; 1047; "Pheidippides," 9. Cf. "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning

and Plutarch," and "Browning and Thucydides.") A. A. 455-456: the first *Thesmophoriazusae* and the second (of which fragments are preserved). A. A. 464-471: the second *Thesmophoriazusae*. A. A. 485-486: *Pax* (the opening). There may be an allusion here to the dung-beetle of Trygaeus, but see "Browning and Aesop." A. A. 560, "torch-light": *Eccl.* 1149-1152. (Cf. A. A. 658.) A. A. 564, "Phales": *Ach.* 263; 271; 276. A. A. 564, "Iacchos": *Ran.* 316-317. A. A. 574-580: *Thes.* 1201 *sqq.* (Cf. A. A. 673-674; 5423-5425; 5646.) A. A. 588-589: *Thes.* 1172; 1175. (Cf. A. A. 593, 704, 1186, "Elaphion.") A. A. 593, "Peiraios-known": *Pax*, 165. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.") A. A. 597-598: *Ach.* 1085-1087. (Cf. A. A. 683; 731-732; 1178; 1348.) Sometimes Browning refers to the supper as given by the High Priest; sometimes, by the Archon. A. A. 601: *Eq.* 550; *Nub.* 540; *Pax*, 767, 771-774. (Cf. A. A. 705 "baldhead bard"; "brow bald"; 1109, "Bald-head"; 1161, "Bald Bard's"; 3419, "bald.") A. A. 639-650: *Nub.* 63-65. A. A. 642, "the Isle's unguent": *Schol. Lys.* 944. A. A. 655 "phorminx": *Av.* 219; *Thes.* 327. A. A. 658, under A. A. 560. A. A. 662, "cheekband": *Vesp.* 582. (Cf. *Av.* 861.) A. A. 663: *Frag.* 607. A. A. 665, "*Threttanelo*": *Plut.* 290, 296. (Cf. A. A. 1892.) A. A. 666, "*Neblaretai*": *Frag.* 241. (Cf. A. A. 2708.) A. A. 667: *Ach.* 254; *Eq.* 631; *Vesp.* 455. A. A. 670-671: *Vesp.* 1341. A. A. 673-674, under A. A. 574-580. A. A. 675-677: *Eccl.* 1158-1162. A. A. 681, "goat's breakfast": *Plut.* 295, 313-314; *Schol. Plut.* 295. A. A. 682, "circumcised": *Av.* 507 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus." Cf. A. A. 1152.) A. A. 682, "pigs to sow": *Plut.* 307-308. A. A. 683, "the Priest's," under A. A. 597-598. A. A. 683, "to the crows": *Ach.* 864, and often elsewhere in Aristophanes. (Cf. A. A. 1776-1777; 3066.) A. A. 688-690: *Plut.* 21. A. A. 692-694: *Ach.* 1150; *Scholl. Ach.* 1150; *Ach.* 886; *Ran.* 367; 404. (Cf. A. A. 993-996; 1898-1899. A. A. 695, "birds' wings": *Av.* (Cf. A. A. 1029; 1319; 1387; 1641; 1938.) A. A. 695, "beetle's armour": *Pax*. The allusion is to the beetle of Trygaeus. (Cf. A. A. 1387, "Trugaios.") A. A. 696-697; *Ach.* 91; 197; 965; 967. (Cf. A. A. 2947.) On "three-crest skull-caps" see *Av.* 94 or *Ach. passim*, e.g. 1109. "Three days' salt-fish-slice" appears also

in *Pax*, 312. *A. A.* 699, "No Choros": *Prolegomena de Comoedia*, I, 28-32; 58-61; 77. (Cf. *A. A.* 703; 709.) *A. A.* 701, "flay your dead dog": *Lys.* 158. *A. A.* 702-703: *Nub.* 537; and possibly *Pax* 765-766. *A. A.* 703, "lose the song and dance," under *A. A.* 699. *A. A.* 704, "Elaphion," under *A. A.* 588-589. *A. A.* 705-707: *Vita Ar.* XI, 1-3, or XV, 1-3; and on "baldhead bard" see *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 709, under *A. A.* 699, above. *A. A.* 711: *Ach.* 627; *Lys.* 614-615; *Proleg. de Comoed.* I, 58-61. *A. A.* 713-714: *Pax*, 961-962; *Vesp.* 58-59; *Plut.* 798; *Eccl.* 45, 606. (Cf. *A. A.* 1166; 3328-3332; 3349.) *A. A.* 715, "Salabaccho": *Eq.* 765; *Thes.* 805. *A. A.* 719-729: *Arg.* V, *Nub.* (Cf. *A. A.* 3351-3354; 3380.) See also *Pax*, 700 *sqq.*; *Scholl. Pax* 702, *Eq.* 531. *A. A.* 731-732, under *A. A.* 597-598. *A. A.* 742-746: *Eq.* 85, 106, and elsewhere; *Schol. Eq.* 85. (Cf. *A. A.* 780; 1350-1351; 1353; 1393; 1473; 1543. Cf. "Browning and Aelian" and "Browning and Athenaeus.") *A. A.* 780, "Good Genius," under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 846: *Schol. Vesp.* 58. (Cf. *A. A.* 1939.) *A. A.* 854-855: *Thes.*, produced in 407 B.C., according to Browning's assumption at this point in the *Apology*. (Cf. *A. A.* 877-878.) *A. A.* 877-878, under *A. A.* 854-855. *A. A.* 880, "Grasshoppers": *Eq.* 1331; *Nub.* 984. There is no known play of that name by Aristophanes. (Cf. *A. A.* 449-451; 1040.) *A. A.* 881: *Ach.* 202, 250. *A. A.* 905, under *A. A.* 324. *A. A.* 937, "Iostephanos": *Ach.* 637; *Eq.* 1323, 1329. (Cf. *A. A.* 5148; and "Fifine at the Fair," 1461.) *A. A.* 939-940, under *A. A.* 324. *A. A.* 941-943: *Schol. Ran.* 1532. (Cf. *A. A.* 5303-5306; 5451-5452.) *A. A.* 943-944: *Ach.* 1124-1125; *Vesp.* 19 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 3186-3192.) *A. A.* 946-947: *Ach.* 1166 *sqq.*; *Av.* 712; *Av.* 1490-1494. *A. A.* 948-949: *Pax*, 804-811; 1009-1014; *Av.* 151. *A. A.* 957-958, "two plays a season," may have been suggested by the statement in the Argument to the *Vespae* that the *Proagon* of Philonides (in whose name Aristophanes brought out that play) was first, and the *Vespae* second, when the *Vespae* was produced. (For another mention of the *Vespae*, see *A. A.* 1319.) *A. A.* 960, "brow-bald," under *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 963, "Wine-lees-poet": *Ach.* 499, etc.; *Proleg. de Comoed.* III, 7-11; IV, 23-25. (Cf. *A. A.* 1752.) *A. A.* 963, "bravest of buffoons": *Vita Ar.* XI, 20-22; *Schol. Eq.* 230. *A. A.* 965-967, "quite a match In elegance for Eupolis him-

self, Yet pungent as Kratinos": *Proleg. de Comoed.* II, 20-23. (Cf. A. A. 3370-3372.) A. A. 968-982: *Proleg. de Comoed.* I; IXa; IXb. (Cf. A. A. 1783-1844; 2908-2936; 3210-3215; cf. "Browning and Horace.") A. A. 993-996, under A. A. 692-694. A. A. 1005-1006: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IX, 75 sqq. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") (Cf. A. A. 2391-2406.) A. A. 1010, "Sokrates, meteors, moonshine: *Nub.* 171. (Cf. A. A. 1065; 1873-1874; 2046.) A. A. 1010, "Socrates": *Nub.* 104 sqq., etc. (Cf. A. A. 1208; 1871-1874; 2184; 2247; 2473; 2494; 3102; 3145; 3255; 3262-3263; 3270; 3300; 3379.) A. A. 1010, "Life's not Life": *Ran.* 1082; 1477. (Cf. A. A. 1282-1284, 1953. Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") A. A. 1011: *Ran.* 102; 1471; *Thes.* 275-276. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") (Cf. A. A. 2548-2549.) A. A. 1013-1014: *Ach.* 399-400; *Schol. Ach.* 398. (Cf. A. A. 2151-2152; 2181.) A. A. 1019, "Comic lash": *Proleg. de Comoed.* V, 22. A. A. 1022: *Ran.* 621. A. A. 1023, "glanced gloom": *Ran.* 593. A. A. 1029, under A. A. 695. A. A. 1032-1038: *Nub.* 523-525; *Vesp.* 1043-1059. (Cf. A. A. 1130-1132.) (On "gapers," A. A. 1032, see A. A. 325.) A. A. 1040, under A. A. 449-451. A. A. 1042-1043: *Triphales* (a lost play by Aristophanes). (Cf. A. A. 5437.) A. A. 1047, under A. A. 449-451. A. A. 1048: *Av.* 39-40; *Nub.* 1360. A. A. 1053-1054, "Taügetan (you guess — Sparté)": *Lys.* 117; 1296-1297. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Pausanias," and "Browning and Philostratus.") A. A. 1065, under A. A. 1010. A. A. 1066-1068: *Ran.* 1073-1074. A. A. 1072-1074: *Nub.* 973-976. A. A. 1075: *Nub.* 983. A. A. 1076-1084: *Nub.* 967-968; 1354-1372; *Scholl. Nub.* 1371, *Ran.* 849, 1080; *Ran.* 1314; *Nub.* 969-970; 985-986. (Cf. A. A. 1643-1644; 1562-1565; 3066.) A. A. 1088-1089: *Pax*, 1138-1139; *Thes.* 279-280. (Cf. A. A. 1094.) A. A. 1091: *Ach.* 1006; *Pax*, 1196. (Cf. A. A. 3115.) A. A. 1094, under A. A. 1088-1089. A. A. 1095-1096: *Ach.* 245-246; *Av.* 78; *Ran.* 62, 63, etc. A. A. 1099-1104: *Pax*, the general spirit of the parabasis, 729 sqq. A. A. 1109, "Baldhead," under A. A. 601. A. A. 1114-1115: *Ran.* 764; *Eq.* 535, 574; *Pax*, 1084. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plato.") A. A. 1120-1121: *Eq.* 1281 sqq. (Cf. A. A. 1942; 3090; 3148; 3427.) Aripgrades is referred to also in

*Vesp.* 1280; *Pax*, 883; *Eccl.* 129; *fr.* 63a. *A. A.* 1125: *Ach.* 350-351. *A. A.* 1129, "Housebreakers": *Ran.* 773; 808. (Cf. *A. A.* 3227.) *A. A.* 1130-1132, under *A. A.* 1032-1038. *A. A.* 1133-1135: *Pax*, 790; 864. *A. A.* 1144-1168: *Second Thesmophoriazusae* (of which fragments remain). *A. A.* 1150, "Aristullos": *fr.* 538; *Eccl.* 647; *Plut.* 309 *sqq.*, 314; and Meineke's identification of Aristyllus with Plato, in his *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum*, pp. 287 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1208-1210; 2248-2249; 2474; 2495-2497; 2700; 3146; 3310-3312; 3316. On 1150-1151, see also "Browning and Plato.") *A. A.* 1151, "womankind should rule the roast": *Thes.* Browning regards the *Thesmophoriazusae* as a satire on the treatment of women in Plato's *Republic*. *A. A.* 1152, under *A. A.* 682. *A. A.* 1156-1158: *Thes.* 1001-1209. (Cf. *A. A.* 1165, "Toxotes.") *A. A.* 1161, "Bald Bard's," under *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 1163, "Murrhiné, Akalanthis": *Lys.* 70, 850, 851, 874; *Av.* 873-874. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron.") *A. A.* 1163-1164, "beautiful Their whole belongings": *Pax*, 524-526. (Cf. "beautiful belongings," in *A. A.* 3116.) *A. A.* 1165, "Toxotes," under *A. A.* 1156-1158. *A. A.* 1166, under *A. A.* 713-714. *A. A.* 1172-1174: *fr.* 334 (of the *Second Thes.*) *A. A.* 1175-1178: *Eccl.* 1168-1183. (Cf. *A. A.* 1190-1195.) *A. A.* 1178, "Priest's supper," under *A. A.* 597-598. *A. A.* 1185-1187: *Ach.* 91-92, 589, 1182. (On *A. A.* 1186, "Elaphion," see *A. A.* 588-589.) *A. A.* 1190-1195, under *A. A.* 1175-1178. And see *Av.* 535 and *Plut.* 720. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.") *A. A.* 1197, "Salt without thyme": *Ach.* 772, 1099. *A. A.* 1200, "Kleonclapper erst": i.e., in *Eq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 401, for other references to Cleon.) *A. A.* 1205: *Thes.* 192 and 253. (Cf. "Cleon," 15, "crocus vest.") *A. A.* 1208-1210, under *A. A.* 1150. See also "Browning and Plato." "*Babaiax*" appears in *Ach.* 64 and elsewhere. *A. A.* 1244-1249: *Pax*, 697 *sqq.* and *Schol.* *Pax*, 697. *A. A.* 1250: *Vita Ar.* XI, 11-12; *Schol. Vesp.* 1018. (Cf. *A. A.* 3381; 3385-3386.) *A. A.* 1256-1259; *Ran.* 73-79 and *Schol. Ran.* 78. *A. A.* 1282-1284, under *A. A.* 1010, "Life's not Life." (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") *A. A.* 1294-1297: *Proleg. de Comoed.* V, 27-30, and the *First Plutus*, of which fragments remain. (Cf. *A. A.* 1308-1314.) *A. A.* 1308-1314, under *A. A.* 1294-1297. *A. A.* 1319: *Vesp.*, *Eq.*, *Nub.*, *Av.*, are mentioned

by name. (Another allusion to the *Vesp.* appears in *A. A.* 958; to the *Nub.* in *A. A.* 1639; and to the *Av.* in *A. A.* 695, 1641.) *A. A.* 1330-1331, under *A. A.* 287-292. *A. A.* 1348, under *A. A.* 597-598. *A. A.* 1350-1351, under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1353, "Good Genius," under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1380-1381: *Ach.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1860; 1868-1869; 3084; 3101; 3138-3139.) *A. A.* 1382-1384: *Vesp.*, in general, and in connection with *A. A.* 1384, *Vesp.* 605 *sqq.*, 690, 791. (Cf. *A. A.* 2995; 3198-3200.) *A. A.* 1385-1386: *Eq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 2432-2433; 2442; 2996-2997.) *A. A.* 1387, "Trugaïos," under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1387, "Pisthetairos," of *Av.*, under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1387, "Strepsiades": *Nub.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1938; 2998.) *A. A.* 1393, "Good Genius," under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1461, "alalé": *Lys.* 1291. *A. A.* 1473, "Good Genius," under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1482: *Lys.* 1094. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Thucydides.") *A. A.* 1525-1528: *Ran.* 393-395. *A. A.* 1543, under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1555: *Thes.* 190. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") *A. A.* 1562-1565, under *A. A.* 1076-1084. *A. A.* 1566: *Ran.* 929. *A. A.* 1574, "Antiope," under *A. A.* 287-292. *A. A.* 1609-1611: *Pax*, 648-657; *Schol. Pax*, 648. (Solon's "saw" is explained by the reference under "Browning and Plutarch," but the matter of respecting the dead in Comedy was probably suggested by Aristophanes. Cf. *A. A.* 1634, 5283.) *A. A.* 1634, under *A. A.* 1609-1611. *A. A.* 1639, "Clouds," under *A. A.* 1319. *A. A.* 1640: *Eq.* 419. *A. A.* 1641, "Birds," under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1643-1644, under *A. A.* 1076-1084. *A. A.* 1645: *Ach.* 1150; 1164-1173; *Schol. Ach.* 1150. (Cf. *A. A.* 1656-1657; 1661-1665.) *A. A.* 1656-1657, under *A. A.* 1645. *A. A.* 1661-1665, under *A. A.* 1645. *A. A.* 1668-1670: *Eq.* 295. *A. A.* 1730: *Ach.* 1168-1172. *A. A.* 1734, under *A. A.* 285. *A. A.* 1735-1736: *Ran.* 937-944. *A. A.* 1737: *Thes.* 387. (Cf. *A. A.* 2535.) *A. A.* 1739: *Ran.* 944; 1408; 1452-1453; *fr.* 580. (Cf. *A. A.* 2184; 2536-2538.) *A. A.* 1743: *Vesp.* 838. *A. A.* 1752: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IV, 10-14; see also the references under *A. A.* 963. *A. A.* 1775-1779: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IXb, 1-15; Xb, 65-74. (Cf. *A. A.* 683; 1886.) *A. A.* 1783-1844, under *A. A.* 968-984. *A. A.* 1789-1790: *Thes.* 450-451; *Nub.* 247-248; 367; 818-827. (Cf. *A. A.* 2049-2052; 2140; 2147; 2178; 2479-2480; 5710.) (Cf. "Browning and

Euripides.") A. A. 1860, under A. A. 1380-1381. A. A. 1861: *Eq.* 277; 324-325. (Cf. under A. A. 401; and cf. "Browning and Thucydides.") A. A. 1868-1869, under A. A. 1380-1381. A. A. 1870: *Vesp.* 34-40; *Schol. Vesp.* 34. (Cf. A. A. 401.) A. A. 1871-1874: *Nub.* (in general), and especially lines 94 *sqq.*; 112-115; 225; 380-381; 828; 889 *sqq.*; and *Schol. Nub.* 96. (Cf. A. A. 2494; 2946; 3262-3265; 3267; 3379; and see under A. A. 1010.) A. A. 1884, "Glauketes": *Pax*, 1006-1009; *Thes.* 1033. A. A. 1885, "Chairephon": *Nub.* 104, 144, 146, 156, 503, 831, 1465; *Vesp.* 1408, 1412; *Av.* 1296, 1564; *fr.* 539, 573. A. A. 1886, under A. A. 1775-1779. A. A. 1892, under A. A. 665. A. A. 1898-1899, under A. A. 692-694. A. A. 1900-1907: *Vita Ar.* XI, 15-42; XII, 13-19; XIV, 1-2; *Ach.* 376-382, 502-503, 659-664; *Vesp.* 1284-1286; *Scholl. Ach.* 378, 654, *Nub.* 272, *Vesp.* 1291. (Cf. A. A. 3236-3237; 3240-3244; 3302-3307.) A. A. 1928-1929: *Fragmenta*, 1, 155; *Ran.* 959, 971-991. (Cf. A. A. 1937, "Thearion.") A. A. 1931-1933 is reminiscent of the character of Pheidippides in the *Clouds*, and of *Nub.* 122, 1298; *Eq.* 603. A. A. 1934: *Av.* 1293 and *Schol. ad loc.* A. A. 1935, "Kepphé": *Plut.* 912 and *Schol. ad loc.* A. A. 1936: *Av.* 300; *Schol. ibid.* 299. A. A. 1937, "Thearion," under A. A. 1928-1929. A. A. 1938, "Pisthetairos," under A. A. 695. A. A. 1938, "Strepsiades," under A. A. 1387. A. A. 1939: *Vesp.* 57. See also under A. A. 846. A. A. 1942, under A. A. 1120-1121. A. A. 1947, "Rocky Ones": *Av.* 123; *Ach.* 75. A. A. 1953, under A. A. 1010. A. A. 1956-1962: *Pax*, 577-578, 1127-1158; *Ach.* 961, 1008, 1112; *fr.* 317 (cf. "Browning and Athenaeus" on A. A. 1959); *Ach.* 272-275; *Pax*, 1184. (Cf. A. A. 3110-3115.) A. A. 2014-2016, under A. A. 106. A. A. 2029-2031: *Nub.* 102-104; 835-837. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron" and "Browning and Lucian.") A. A. 2035-2038: *Nub.* 360-361; *Av.* 692. (Cf. "Browning and Diogenes Laertius.") A. A. 2045: *Nub.* 1073; *Pax*, 343. A. A. 2046, under A. A. 1010. A. A. 2047, "keep Choes": *Ach.* 961, 1076, 1211. (Cf. A. A. 2069.) A. A. 2049-2052, under A. A. 1789-1790. A. A. 2053-2055: *Av.* 558-559. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.") A. A. 2059-2060: *Nub.* 373. A. A. 2061-2062: *Nub.* 399-400. A. A. 2062-2066: *Ran.* 100, 311; *Thes.* 272; *Nub.* 264. (Cf. "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius,"

"Browning and Euripides," and "Browning and Lucian.") A. A. 2067-2068: *Nub.* 376 *sqq.* (Cf. A. A. 2147. Cf. "Browning and Plato.") A. A. 2069, under A. A. 2047. A. A. 2070-2071; *Nub.* 156-168. A. A. 2072-2073: *Nub.* 831-833. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron.") A. A. 2074, "pour bull's blood" under R. & B. XI, 2410-2411. A. A. 2082, "be — as we wish": *Ach.* 446. A. A. 2084: *Pax*, 869. A. A. 2092-2098: *Nub.* 1111-1112. A. A. 2100-2101: *Schol. Eq.* 781. A. A. 2105, "the Empousa": *Ran.* 293; *Eccl.* 1056-1057. (Cf. "Browning and Philostratus.") A. A. 2113, "Kimberic robe": *Lys.* 45 and 52. A. A. 2114-2128 (cf. A. A. 2130-2132; 2176-2179; 2191-2192; 2194-2197): *Ach.* 411 *sqq.*; *Ran.* 937 *sqq.*; 1042; 1058-1064. (Cf. "Browning and Aristotle.") A. A. 2130-2132, under A. A. 2114-2128. A. A. 2140, under A. A. 1789-1790. A. A. 2147, under A. A. 1789-1790; and A. A. 2067-2068. A. A. 2152, under A. A. 1013-1014. A. A. 2176-2179, under A. A. 2114-2128. A. A. 2178-2179, under A. A. 1789-1790 and A. A. 2117-2118. A. A. 2181, under A. A. 1013-1014. A. A. 2184, "friend Socrates," under A. A. 1010; "wife's friend Kephisophon," under A. A. 1739. A. A. 2191-2192, under A. A. 2114-2128. A. A. 2194-2197, under A. A. 2114-2128. A. A. 2198: *Thes.* 850, where the phrase 'new *Helen*' refers to the novel version of the story of Helen in the *Helena* of Euripides. A. A. 2215-2216: *Ran.* 828-829. A. A. 2227-2229 may be associated with *Ran.* 971-979, and with the debate between the Just Cause and the Unjust Cause in *Nub.* 889-1104, which appears to parody the numerous debates in the plays of Euripides. A. A. 2232-2236: *Ran.* 1009-1017; 1064-1066. A. A. 2238-2241: *Nub.* 116-118; 244-246; 433-434; 1213 *sqq.* (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.") A. A. 2245, "Iophons": *Ran.* 73. (Cf. A. A. 2250, 2253. Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") A. A. 2247, under A. A. 1010. A. A. 2248-2249, under A. A. 1150. A. A. 2250, "Iophons," under A. A. 2245. A. A. 2253, "Iophons," under A. A. 2245. 2277-2280: *Eq.* 515-517. (Cf. A. A. 2407-2408.) A. A. 2292-2293: *Ach.* 180-181. A. A. 2294-2297: *Pax*, 255 *sqq.* and 'make mincemeat,' in *Vesp.* 63. A. A. 2303: *Vesp.* 38. (Cf. A. A. 3086. For other allusions to Cleon in A. A., see under A. A. 401.) A. A. 2304: *Nub.* 1065. (Cf. A. A. 3086, "Huperbolos.") A. A. 2305, "hempseller Eukrates": *Eq.* 129; *fr.* 696;



*Schol. Eq.* 129. (Cf. *A. A.* 3382.) *A. A.* 2305-2306, "Lusikles Sheep-dealer": *Eq.* 132; 765; and *Schol. Eq.* 765. (Cf. *A. A.* 3382.) *A. A.* 2306: *Eccl.* 248-253; *Schol. ibid.* 253. *A. A.* 2307-2308, "Diitriphes who weaves the willow-work To go round bottles": *Av.* 798. *A. A.* 2308-2309, "Nausikudes The meal-man": *Eccl.* 426 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Despite the uncertainty of the scholium, it appears certain from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, 2, 7, 6, that Nausicydes was in fact a "meal-man.") *A. A.* 2321-2327: *Av.* (a general summary of the plot), especially *Av.* 82, 94, 821, and the final scene. *A. A.* 2360-2361: *Ach.* 264-265. *A. A.* 2407-2408, under *A. A.* 2277-2280. *A. A.* 2425-2433: *Eq.* 1321-1363. *A. A.* 2434-2447: *Ran.* 718-737; *Ach.* 633, 644-645; *Vesp.* 1017, 1043; *Eq.* (the character of the Sausage-Seller); *Ran.* 1422-1425, 1431-1433. (With *A. A.* 2442, cf. *A. A.* 1385-1386.) *A. A.* 2448, "chauloproct": *Ach.* 104, 106. *A. A.* 2473, under *A. A.* 1010. *A. A.* 2474, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 2479-2480, under *A. A.* 1789-1790. *A. A.* 2494, under *A. A.* 1010, and *A. A.* 1871-1874. *A. A.* 2495-2497, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 2535, under *A. A.* 1737. *A. A.* 2536-2538, under *A. A.* 1739. *A. A.* 2548-2549, under *A. A.* 1011. *A. A.* 2574: *Ran.* 756. *A. A.* 2575-2679 includes a general summary of the *Ranae*, with a series of details from the *Plutus*, mentioned in the entries that follow. (Cf. *A. A.* 5277-5288; 5382-5452.) *A. A.* 2607-2611: *Plut.* 1156. (Cf. "Browning and Philostratus.") *A. A.* 2613: *Plut.* 1168-1170. *A. A.* 2624-2627: *Plut.* 653 sqq.; 681; 701-702; 733. *A. A.* 2635: *Ran.* 82; 787-794. *A. A.* 2636: *Pax*, 699. *A. A.* 2642: *Ran.* 78-79. *A. A.* 2662-2668: *Ran.* 605 sqq. *A. A.* 2683-2685: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IV, 27-28; IXa, 59-65; IXb, 1-14. *A. A.* 2692-2693: *Av.* 1372-1373; *Ran.* 1437-1438; *Schol. Ran.* 1437. *A. A.* 2700, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 2705-2706: *Proleg. de Comoed.* XI, 12-14; XII, 10-13; XIII, 9-10. *A. A.* 2707: *Ach.* 598; *Av.* 505; *Schol. Av.* 507. *A. A.* 2708: *Vesp.* 280; *Schol. Vesp.* 279. *A. A.* 2708, "*Neblaretai*," under *A. A.* 666. *A. A.* 2776, "folly wise-like frowns," may be associated with *Nub.* 561-562. *A. A.* 2838: the *Lemnians* and *The Hours* are plays by Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. *A. A.* 2839-2844: *Eccl.* (a translation of the name, and a general criticism of the play). *A. A.* 2908-2935, under *A. A.* 968-982. *A. A.* 2912: *Plut.*

582-584. A. A. 2936: *Banqueters* is a play by Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. (Cf. A. A. 2941.) A. A. 2941: the *Banqueters* and the *Babylonians* are plays by Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. (Cf. A. A. 2936.) A. A. 2944, "assistance," may be a translation of *ᾠφελείας*, *Proleg. de Comoed.* IXa, 23. A. A. 2946, under A. A. 1871-1874. A. A. 2947 refers to the satire on the Ambassadors in the *Acharnians*. A. A. 2963-2978: *Pax*, 748-751; *Nub.* 537 sqq.; *Vita Ar.* XI, 3 sqq.; *Ran.* 104, *κόβαλα*. A. A. 2995, under A. A. 1382-1384. A. A. 2996-2997, under A. A. 1385-1386. A. A. 2998, under A. A. 1387. A. A. 2999 may be taken as referring particularly to *Ach.*, *Thes.*, and *Ran.* A. A. 3066, "join the crows," under A. A. 683. A. A. 3066, "for sake of Marathon," under A. A. 1076-1084. A. A. 3067-3070: *Pax*, 447-453. A. A. 3076, "*skia-deion*": *Av.* 1508-1509. A. A. 3084: *Ach.* 572 sqq., 965, 1107. (Cf. A. A. 1380-1381.) A. A. 3086, under A. A. 2303 and 2304. See also *Eq.* 290. (Cf. A. A. 401.) A. A. 3087, "Nicias," seems to have been suggested not by the mentions of Nicias in *Eq.* 358, *Av.* 363, and *fr.* 100, so much as by Plutarch's account of Nicias. (See "Browning and Plutarch.") (Cf. A. A. 3140.) A. A. 3089: *Ran.* 355, 369. A. A. 3090, under A. A. 1120-1121. A. A. 3101, under A. A. 1380-1381. A. A. 3102, "Kleon," under A. A. 401. A. A. 3102-3103, "burns Socrates, House over head": *Nub.* 1484 sqq. (Cf. A. A. 3255; 3296-3298.) A. A. 3110-3115, under A. A. 1956-1962; 1091. A. A. 3116-3117: *Pax*, 523-526, etc. (Cf. A. A. 1163-1164.) (Cf. A. A. 3428; 3456-3460; 5310-5311.) A. A. 3133: *Ach.* 321 sqq. A. A. 3138-3139: *Ran.* 1039. (Cf. A. A. 1380-1381.) A. A. 3140, under A. A. 3087. A. A. 3141-3142: *Eq.* 314-321. (Cf. A. A. 401, 2303.) A. A. 3145, under A. A. 1010. A. A. 3146, under A. A. 1150. (Cf. "Browning and Plato.") A. A. 3148-3150: *Eccl.* 129 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Cf. A. A. 1120-1121.) A. A. 3162-3163: *Ach.* 1003-1017; 1073-1142; *Pax* (the general subject). A. A. 3164-3170: *Ach.* 1075-1234. (Cf. A. A. 3182.) A. A. 3177-3178: *Ach.* 751, 1091; *Pax*, 1131. A. A. 3182, under A. A. 3164-3170. See particularly *Ach.* 1075, 1101, 1141. A. A. 3186-3192, under A. A. 943-944. A. A. 3198-3200, under A. A. 1382-1384. A. A. 3203-3208: *Vesp.* (some scenes); especially, *Vesp.* 798 sqq.; 1167; 1388 sqq.; 1342 sqq. A. A. 3210-3215,

under A. A. 968-982. A. A. 3227, "housebreaker," under A. A. 1129. A. A. 3228, "fish-gorging": *Pax*, 810. A. A. 3228, "mid-night footpad": *Ran.* 773, and elsewhere. A. A. 3232, "Kratinos": *Ach.* 849, 1173; *Eq.* 400, 526; *Ran.* 357. (Cf. A. A. 3337-3342.) A. A. 3236-3237, under A. A. 1900-1907. A. A. 3240-3244, under A. A. 1900-1907. A. A. 3253-3254: *Ach.* 526-527. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.") A. A. 3255, under A. A. 3102-3103. A. A. 3260-3270: *Vesp.* 29-30; and the references under A. A. 1871-1874. On A. A. 3265, see particularly *Schol. Nub.* 96, *ad fin.*; and on A. A. 3267, see *Nub.* 380. (Cf. A. A. 1010.) A. A. 3296-3298, under A. A. 3102-3103. The "Speculation-shop" of A. A. 3298 is the *φροντιστήριον* of *Nub.* 1487. A. A. 3300, under A. A. 1010. A. A. 3302-3307, under A. A. 1900-1907. A. A. 3307-3309: *Pax*, 757-758; *Ach.* 381. A. A. 3310-3312, under A. A. 1150. A. A. 3312-3317: *Vita Ar.* XI, 59-63. A. A. 3316, under A. A. 1150. A. A. 3322-3328: *Nub.* 537-539; 560. A. A. 3328-3332, under A. A. 713-714. See also *Nub.* 543, for the "torch-flare," and cf. A. A. 3349. A. A. 3337-3344: *Eq.* 526-536; *Ach.* 632. (Cf. A. A. 3232; 5502-5504.) A. A. 3349, under A. A. 3328-3332 and A. A. 713-714. A. A. 3350: *Nub.* 591-594.<sup>1</sup> A. A. 3351-3354, under A. A. 719-729. A. A. 3370-3372, under A. A. 965-967. A. A. 3374: *Eq.* 520-523. A. A. 3376-3377: *Schol. Nub.* 96, *ad fin.* (Cf. A. A. 3265.) A. A. 3379: *Nub.* 171-174, and the general effect of the whole play. (Cf. A. A. 1010; 1871-1874.) A. A. 3380, under A. A. 719-729. A. A. 3381, "well-masked," under A. A. 1250. A. A. 3382, under A. A. 2305; 2305-2306. A. A. 3385-3386, under A. A. 1250. A. A. 3400-3401: *Eq.* 537-539. A. A. 3400-

<sup>1</sup> From the reference to the death of Cleon, it would seem that Balaustion is not in this line referring to the *Equites*, which contains the harangue reproduced in A. A. 3337-3344, but rather to the *Nubes*, which "followed" the *Equites*. Browning apparently does not permit Balaustion to consider the lines about Cleon in the *Nubes* as indicating that he was alive when the play was presented, or else he is having her assume that the *Equites* came after the death of Cleon. Cleon died late in the summer of 422 B.C. The *Equites* was produced in January, 424 B.C.; the first version of the *Nubes* in 423, when it was defeated by the play of Cratinus mentioned in A. A. 3351-3354. The mention of the *Maricas* of Eupolis, which was exhibited in 421 B.C., in *Nub.* 553, not far from the lines attacking Cleon, indicates that the whole passage may have been written after the death of Cleon. In any event, there is here some chronological difficulty in the *Apology*.

3402 may all, however, be based on *Proleg. de Comoed.* III, 38-41 (quoted in Meineke's *Hist. Crit. Comicarum Graecorum*, p. 60). A. A. 3409: *Arg. Ach.* A. A. 3418: *Pax.* A. A. 3419, under A. A. 601. A. A. 3427, under A. A. 1120-1121. A. A. 3428, under A. A. 3117. A. A. 3443-3445: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IXa, 61-65. A. A. 3456-3460, under A. A. 3116-3117. A. A. 3466, "Kleon's crowd," under A. A. 401. A. A. 3476-3477: *Av.* (the character Triballus). Cf. *Av.* 1529. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.") A. A. 5148, "Iostephanos," under A. A. 937; "'best friend'" may be associated with the sources given under A. A. 324. A. A. 5276: the *Proagon* of Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. That this play contained an attack on Euripides is witnessed by *Schol. Vesp.* 61. A. A. 5277-5288, under A. A. 2575-2679. A. A. 5283, "Death defends," under A. A. 1609-1611. A. A. 5303-5306, under A. A. 941-943. A. A. 5310-5311, under A. A. 3116-3117. A. A. 5336: *Ran.* 1475, which quotes from the *Aeolus* of Euripides (Frag. 19, Nauck), according to the *Schol. Ran.* 1475. Browning has used the line in place of the misquotation of it in the anecdote of *Lais* and Euripides in *Athenaeus* (see "Browning and Athenaeus"). A. A. 5382-5452, under A. A. 2575-2679. A. A. 5382-5383: *Ran.* and *Arg. Ran.* I. (Cf. A. A. 5455.) A. A. 5386-5388: *Eccl.* 1118-1120. A. A. 5411-5412, "'He's all one stiff and gluey piece Of back of swine's neck!'" : *fr.* 646, *κόλλωψ*. A. A. 5412, "Chatterbox": *Ran.* 1069. A. A. 5413: *fr.* 638; *Ran.* 1515-1523. A. A. 5414-5415: *Ran.* 1520-1521. A. A. 5423-5425, under A. A. 574-580. A. A. 5430-5431: *Ran.* 1200 *sqq.* A. A. 5433-5434: *Ran.* 1402-1403. A. A. 5435-5437: *Ran.* 1422 *sqq.* A. A. 5437, "Triphales," under A. A. 1042-1043. A. A. 5439, "Pheidippides": *Nub.* (the character Pheidippides). A. A. 5442-5446: *Ran.* 1491-1495. A. A. 5447-5448: *Ran.* 1531-1532. A. A. 5451-5452, under A. A. 941-943. A. A. 5455, under 5382-5383. A. A. 5458-5460: *Arg. Ran.* I, 'The play was so admired for its parabasis that it was produced a second time.' A. A. 5478-5479: *Av.* 1282-1283. A. A. 5493, "Bakis-prophecy": *Eq.* 120 *sqq.*, and elsewhere in Aristophanes. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plutarch.") A. A. 5502-5504: *Ach.* 630, 632. (Cf. A. A. 3344.) A. A. 5646, "Phaps-Elaphion," under A. A. 574-580. A. A. 5710, under A. A. 1789-1790.

- "The Inn Album," 442-443, "hatch A wind-egg": *Av.* 694-697.  
 "Of Pachiarotto and how he worked in Distemper," 580: *Nub.* 78-80.  
 "Epilogue" to *Pachiarotto and how he worked in Distemper*, the motto:  
*Plut.* 806-807.  
 "Pheidippides," 9, under *A. A.* 449-451.  
 "Daniel Bartoli," 273-274, "*Trogalia*, say the Greeks," etc.: *Pax*,  
 772; *Plut.* 798.

## BROWNING AND ARISTOTLE

- Paracelsus*, IV, 546, "This verse-making can purge you well enough," may be reminiscent of the *Poetics*, 6, 2, 'through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions.'<sup>1</sup> (Cf. *R. & B. X*, 1233.)  
 "Old Pictures in Florence," 89-96: *Poetics*, 2, 1, 'Since the objects of imitation are men in action, and these men must be either of a higher or a lower type, . . . it follows that we must represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are.'  
*R. & B. VIII*, 488-489: *De Generatione Animalium*, 3, 10.  
*R. & B. IX*, 131, "Moving the pity and terror": *Poetics*, 6, 2, 'Tragedy . . . through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions'; and 13, 2, 'It (a perfect tragedy) should, moreover, imitate actions which excite pity and fear, this being the distinctive mark of tragic imitation.' (Cf. *A. A.* 163-176; 2192-2193.)  
*R. & B. X*, 1233, "purging," under *Paracelsus*, IV, 546, above.  
*A. A.* 163-176, under *R. & B. IX*, 131, above.  
*A. A.* 763-766: *Poetics*, 25, 3, ἡ μὲν γὰρ καθ' αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός; and 25, 5, τῶν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἢ κατ' ἄλλο συμβεβηκός.  
*A. A.* 963, "Bravest of buffoons": *Ethics*, 4, 8, 1-6, *Of graceful or polished wit, and its contrary*, 'But since there are periods of relaxation in life, and in them sportive pastime is admissible, in this case also there seems to be a certain method of intercourse consistent with propriety and good taste, and also of saying proper things in a proper manner; . . . Those, therefore, who exceed in the ridiculous appear to be buffoons and vulgar, always longing for something ridiculous, and aiming more at exciting laughter than speaking decently, and causing no pain to the object of their sarcasm . . .

<sup>1</sup> Butcher's translation.

those who are sportive with good taste are called men of graceful wit. . . . But since what is ridiculous is on the surface, and the generality of mankind are pleased with sport, and even with over-much jesting, even buffoons are called men of graceful wit, as though they were refined; . . . the difference between old and recent comedies; in the old ones obscenity constituted the ridiculous; in the modern ones innuendo; and there is considerable difference between these in point of decency. . . . But the buffoon cannot resist what is ridiculous, and spares neither himself not anybody else, if he can but raise a laugh; and this he will do by saying such things as the gentleman would not think of saying, or sometimes even of listening to.' (Cf. *A. A.* 2963-2965; 3093-3100; 3245-3250; 3304.)

- A. A.* 1353-1428: *Poetics*, 2, 1 and 4, 'Since the objects of imitation are men in action, and these men must be either of a higher or a lower type (for moral character mainly answers to these divisions, goodness and badness being the distinguishing marks of moral differences), it follows that we must represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are. It is the same in painting. Polygnotus depicted men as nobler than they are, Pauson as less noble, Dionysius drew them true to life. . . . The same distinction marks off Tragedy from Comedy; for Comedy aims at representing men as worse, Tragedy as better, than in actual life.' *Poetics*, 5, 1, 'Comedy is, as we have said, an imitation of characters of a lower type, — not, however, in the full sense of the word bad, the Ludicrous being merely a subdivision of the Ugly. It consists in some defect or ugliness which is not painful or destructive. To take an obvious example, the comic mask is ugly and distorted, but does not imply pain.' *Poetics*, 15, 8, 'Again, since Tragedy is an imitation of persons who are above the common level, the example of good portrait-painters should be followed. They, while reproducing the distinctive form of the original, make a likeness which is true to life and yet more beautiful.' (On *A. A.* 1353-1391, see also "Browning and Plato"; and on various details in the entire passage, see "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Euripides.")

- A. A. 2114-2132: *Poetics*, 25, 1, 'The poet being an imitator, like a painter or any other artist, must of necessity imitate one of three objects, — things as they were or are, things as they are said or thought to be, or things as they ought to be. The vehicle of expression is language, — either current terms or, it may be, rare words or metaphors.' *Poetics*, 25, 6, 'Further, if it be objected that the description is not true to fact, the poet may perhaps reply, — "But the objects are as they ought to be": just as Sophocles said that he drew men as they ought to be; Euripides, as they are.' *Poetics*, 25, 19, 'The element of the irrational, and, similarly, depravity of character, are justly censured when there is no inner necessity for introducing them. Such is the irrational element in the *Aegeus* of Euripides, and the badness of Menelaus in the *Orestes*.' (Cf. A. A. 2166-2179; 5565-5568; and see "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 2166-2179, under A. A. 2114-2132.
- A. A. 2192-2193, under R. & B. IX, 131.
- A. A. 2906-2907: *Ethics*, 4, 8, 4, . . . 'the difference between old and recent comedies; in the old ones obscenity constituted the ridiculous; in the modern ones innuendo; and there is considerable difference between them in point of decency.' (Cf. A. A. 3417-3418.) Though the analogy here may be wholly accidental, the passage from the *Ethics* is included in the longer bit which Browning apparently had in mind in connection with the group of passages from the *Apology* adduced under A. A. 963.
- A. A. 2916: *Poetics*, 5, 2, 'The successive changes through which Tragedy passed, and the authors of these changes, are well known, whereas Comedy has had no history, because it was not at first treated seriously. It was late before the Archon granted a comic chorus to a poet; the performers were till then voluntary.'
- A. A. 2963-2965, under A. A. 963.
- A. A. 3093-3100, under A. A. 963.
- A. A. 3245-3250, under A. A. 963.
- A. A. 3304, under A. A. 963.
- A. A. 3417-3418, under A. A. 2906-2907.
- A. A. 5565-5568, under A. A. 2114-2132. This passage, however, seems primarily reflective of the stanza from Elizabeth Barrett

Browning's "Wine of Cyprus" which serves as the motto for *Balaustion's Adventure*.

A. A. 5632, "the Kommos": *Poetics*, 12, 2, 'the Kommos is a joint lamentation of Chorus and actors.'

"Fifine at the Fair," 935, "gastroknemian grace": *Historia Animalium*, 1, 15, γαστροκνημία.

"Halbert and Hob": *Ethics*, 7, 6, 5, 'It is like the case of a man who defended himself for beating his father, because, said he, my father beat his father, and he again beat his; and he, also (pointing to his child) will beat me, when he becomes a man; for it runs in our family. And he that was dragged by his son, bid him stop at the door, for that he himself had dragged his father so far.'

"Development," 97-115 mentions Browning's study of the *Ethics*.

#### BROWNING AND ATHENAEUS

R. & B. IX, 168-174: *Deipnosophists*, 13, 59 contains an account of the defense of Phryne by Hyperides, in the course of which occurred the incident referred to by Browning, and contains also a long passage attesting her beauty 'even in those parts of her person which were not generally seen.' (Cf. R. & B. IX, 187.)

R. & B. IX, 187, under R. & B. 168-174.

B. A. 208-212: *Deip.* 15, 17 explains the cooling effect on the forehead of a garland of ivy bound tight across the brow, and imputes the fact that the garland of ivy is sacred to Bacchus to the circumstance that it defends men from all the inconveniences which arise from the use of wine; and *ibid.* 15, 25 mentions garlands made of the blossoms of the pomegranate. (In connection with *Deip.* 15, 17, see A. A. 600-605.)

"Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society," 19-21: *Deip.* 13, 26, "young or old."

A. A. 203, "Pricked by the reed": *Deip.* 13, 31 speaks of a temple to Venus at Athens, 'which some call Venus among the Reeds, and others Venus in the Marsh.' It is barely possible that from this Browning took the suggestion for the reeds in the Ilyssus near the Limnae, the scene which Balaustion is describing.

A. A. 263-281: *Deip.* 13, 81, 'And when all clapped their hands, laughing and shouting out, to see how well he (Sophocles) had



taken the boy in, he said, 'I, my friends, am meditating on the art of generalship, since Pericles has said that I know how to compose poetry, but not how to be a general; now has not this stratagem of mine succeeded perfectly? And he both said and did many things of this kind in a witty manner, drinking and giving himself up to mirth; but as to political affairs he was not able nor energetic in them, but behaved as any other virtuous Athenian might have done.' (Cf. "Browning and Sophocles.")

A. A. 285-286, "a bookish store Would stock ten cities": *Deip.* 1, 4, mentions the library of Euripides as among the most remarkable in ancient times. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 329-332: *Deip.* 7, 50 extols the Copaic eel; *ibid.* 7, 44 mentions a thousand Attic drachmae as the price for 'the very smallest and cheapest galeus' (a kind of shark); *ibid.* 14, 81 explains that congers should be cooked in 'salt, and marjoram, and water,' (the same passage appears in *ibid.* 7, 45); and *ibid.* 7, 22 explains that the foamfish should be parboiled with nettles and then fried with the nettles and fragrant herbs well steeped in oil.

A. A. 336-337: *Deip.* 13, 86 has an account of Thessalian dancing women, which may have suggested the "Thessalian mime." Lais is mentioned in *ibid.* 13, 45; 13, 54; etc. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.") In *ibid.* 13, 55, Lais is said to have died in Thes-saly.

A. A. 365-368: *Deip.* 13, 5. Browning has put into the mouth of "Comic Platon" the exact turn of ideas in the passage from Hieronymus quoted by Athenaeus.

A. A. 383-386: *Deip.* 7, 123, 'And when the cuttle-fish is pursued,' etc.; *ibid.* 7, 15, 'The fish that lives in seaweed, the alphestes, The scorpion also with its rosy meat.' (Cf. *ibid.* 7, 110 and 7, 115 for the same passage as that quoted from 7, 15, though in Yonge's translation the three passages are differently rendered.<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> The original line from Numenius's work on *Fishing*, quoted in all three passages in Athenaeus, appears to mean 'The phycides, the alphestes, and besides The red-fleshed scorpion,' as it is rendered in Yonge's version of 7, 115. Browning apparently depended on the English version of 7, 15, and mistook 'the fish that lives in seaweed' for an appositional phrase with 'the alphestes,' instead of recognizing it as a translation of 'phycides.'

A. A. 488: *Deip.* 1, 35, 'And they (the Athenians) also erected a statue of Euripides in the theatre next to the statue of Aeschylus. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

A. A. 567: *Deip.* 8, 59, 'And Plutarch said, — There is a Rhodian tale. . . . But I know that Phoenix the Colophonian, the Iambic poet, making mention of some men as collecting money for the Jackdaw, speaks as follows:

My friends, I pray you give a handful now  
Of barley to the jackdaw, Phoebus' daughter;

And those people who went about collecting for the jackdaw (*κορώνη*) were called *Coronistae*. . . . And the songs which are sung by them are called *coronismata*, as Agnocles the Rhodian tells us, in his *Coronistae*.

A. A. 593, "Phaps": similar nicknames for hetairae are frequent in Athenaeus, e.g., Klepsydra, in *Deip.* 13, 21; Mania, in *Deip.* 13, 41; Sow, Goat, and Crow, in *Deip.* 13, 45. The name was probably suggested to Browning by the fact that the dove was sacred to Aphrodite, whose "priestesses" in some sense the hetairae were. In the defense of Phryne (*Deip.* 13, 59) Hyperides called her "a prophetess and priestess of Venus." (Cf. A. A. 670, "Phaps"; 648, "Phabion"; and 5423, "Phaps.")

A. A. 646: *Deip.* 3, 7 mentions the Phibalean figs and compares them with myrtle-berries.

A. A. 647: *Deip.* 7, 81 quotes the name from Pherecrates.

A. A. 649: *Deip.* 14, 64.

A. A. 664: Thasian wine is mentioned with Mendesian (i.e. Mendaeon) in *Deip.* 8, 53 (as in A. A. 730-731) and in *Deip.* 1, 56; 4, 4; 8, 67. In *Deip.* 1, 52, it is mentioned along with Peparethian (mentioned in A. A. 1959) in a quoted fragment of Aristophanes (*fr.* 317). Since Mendesian is not mentioned in Aristophanes, and Peparethian mentioned nowhere else in Aristophanes than in the fragment quoted by Athenaeus, there is some probability that Athenaeus was the chief source of Browning's information about Greek wines. A. A. 5386-5388, however, is evidently based on Aristophanes *Eccl.* 1118-1120; and Thasian is the wine at the banquet in Xenophon's *Symposium*, 4, 41. (Cf. A. A. 730-731; 1092; 1279; 1429; 2938.)

- A. A. 669, "By the cabbage": *Deip.* 9, 9.
- A. A. 670, "-Phaps," under A. A. 593.
- A. A. 716-719: *Deip.* 1, 39 (repeated in *ibid.* 10, 33) is authority for the statement that Aeschylus was often drunk when he wrote. (Cf. "Browning and Aeschylus.")
- A. A. 730-731, under A. A. 664.
- A. A. 742-746: *Deip.* 15, 17 not only mentions the invocation of the 'good Deity' at the cup of unmixed wine, paying honor to Bacchus, but adds that 'when the first cup of mixed wine is handed round after dinner, they then invoke Jupiter the Saviour, thinking him the cause of this mixture of wine which is so unattended with pain, as being the author of rain.' This explains the "new libation" of A. A. 746. *Deip.* 15, 47-48 also illustrates the phrase "Good Genius" as a signal for ending a feast. (Cf. A. A. 780; 1350-1351; 1353; 1473; 1543; and see "Browning and Aelian" and "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 780, under A. A. 742-746.
- A. A. 794, "tragic barbiton": *Deip.* 4, 77; 4, 80; 14, 37; 14, 38.<sup>1</sup>
- A. A. 1048, "sip the dew": *Deip.* 2, 26 provides the information that grasshoppers are nourished by water alone.
- A. A. 1092, under A. A. 664.
- A. A. 1125: *Deip.* 7, 123, 'And when the cuttle-fish is pursued, it discharges its ink, and is hidden in it, making it appear as if it were flying forwards.' (Cf. A. A. 383.)
- A. A. 1190-1194: *Deip.* 7, 44 praises the galeus, a sort of shark, apparently, and mentions 'sauce and vinegar' as the dressing for it; *ibid.* 7, 45 mentions the head of the glaucus, or grayling, boiled in brine; *ibid.* 7, 46 further praises the grayling's head; and *ibid.* 14, 17 describes the basting of a fish with vinegar and 'Libyan silphium, Dried in the genial rays of midday sun.' Sphettian vinegar is mentioned in *Deip.* 2, 76; silphion, in 4, 69 and 1, 50 (in each of these cases translated 'assafoetida.' (See also "Browning and Aristophanes."))

<sup>1</sup> In Aristophanes's *Thes.* 137, it is mentioned as the instrument upon which Agathon (a tragic poet) is playing; and it appears in Euripides's *Cyclops*, 40, as used in Bacchic songs. But Browning would probably have called it "barbitos" except for the use of the other form of the word in Athenaeus (in the Greek text).

- A. A. 1279, under A. A. 664.  
 A. A. 1350-1351, under A. A. 742-746.  
 A. A. 1353, under A. A. 742-746.  
 A. A. 1393, under A. A. 742-746.  
 A. A. 1429, under A. A. 664.  
 A. A. 1473, under A. A. 742-746.  
 A. A. 1495, "cold Euripides": *Deip.* 13, 71. In the account here of the death of Euripides, the English version reads 'the angry god Found a fit death for cold Euripides.' The source for Browning's phrase is very likely this passage in Athenaeus, rather than adjectives in the *Vita Euripidis* which mean 'stiff,' 'thoughtful,' and 'austere.' (Cf. A. A. 1510; 1666-1667.) In A. A. 284, "Cold hater of his kind," however, the adjective is perhaps better associated with those in the *Vita*. The whole matter can hardly be settled.  
 A. A. 1504-1510: *Deip.* 13, 45. (Browning follows the text of this passage about Lais and Euripides very closely in A. A. 5323-5336. On A. A. 5336, however, see "Browning and Aristophanes.")  
 A. A. 1510, "cold," under A. A. 1495.  
 A. A. 1543, under A. A. 742-746.  
 A. A. 1666-1667, under A. A. 1495.  
 A. A. 1838: *Deip.* 2, 77, 'besides lard And eggs and honey and flour wrapp'd in fig-leaves, And all compounded in one savoury force-meat.'  
 A. A. 1843, "ellops-fish": *Deip.* 7, 44; 7, 80.  
 A. A. 1959, under A. A. 664.  
 A. A. 2084, "and sesame pricks tongue": *Deip.* 2, 77.  
 A. A. 2086, "Bacchis": *Deip.* 13, 66. But the source for the line is probably Alciphron. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron.")  
 A. A. 2105, "Saperdion": *Deip.* 13, 60, 'But Apollodorus, in his book on Courtesans, says that there were two women named Phryne, one of whom was nicknamed Clausigelos, and the other Saperdium.' (Cf. A. A. 2113; 2144.)  
 A. A. 2113, under A. A. 2105.  
 A. A. 2114-2115: *Deip.* 13, 11, 'the dramatic philosopher, Euripides.'  
 A. A. 2144, under A. A. 2105.  
 A. A. 2398, under A. A. 664.

- A. A. 2637: *Deip.* 12, 2; 13, 61; 13, 81. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")
- A. A. 3476-3477: *Deip.* 15, 11, 'These things are shameful, e'en to the Triballi.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 3519, "with stulos pendent": *Deip.* 13, 45, 'Holding a tablet and a pen attached to it.' (Cf. A. A. 5327-5328, in a passage the whole of which comes from this chapter in Athenaeus.)
- A. A. 5087-5100: *Deip.* 9, 70, 'Lachares made Minerva naked, who caused him no inconvenience.' . . .
- A. A. 5323-5336, under A. A. 1504-1510. Browning gives a close translation of the original — so close, at least, that he must have had the original memorized if he wrote the *Apology*, as he stated, with no books at hand.
- A. A. 5423, "Phaps-," under A. A. 593.
- A. A. 5477, "the half-helot captain": *Deip.* 6, 102 states that Lysander, 'who defeated the Athenians in the naval battle,' was one of the Mothaces among the Lacedaemonians, a class of freemen, but still not citizens, though foster-brothers of citizens. (Cf. "Browning and Aelian.")
- A. A. 5638-5639, "While we Lakonians . . . crunched Sea-urchin, conchs and all, unpricked — coarse brutes!" *Deip.* 3, 41: 'And Demetrius the Scepsian, in the twenty-sixth book of his Trojan Preparation, says that a Lacedaemonian once being invited to a banquet, when some sea-urchins were put before him on the table, took one, not knowing the proper manner in which it should be eaten, and not attending to those who were in the company to see how they ate it. And so he put it in his mouth with the skin or shell and all, and began to crush the sea-urchin with his teeth; and being exceedingly disgusted with what he was eating, and not perceiving how to get rid of the roughness of the taste, he said, "O what nasty food! I will not now be so effeminate as to eject it, but I will never take you again."' "

## BROWNING AND CASSIODORUS

- R. & B. I, 231: *Variae Epistolae*, 1, 37, "Crispiano Theod. Rex": Quis enim ferat hominem ad leges trahere, qui matrimonii nisis est iura violare? Feris insitum est, copulam suam extrema concerta-

tionem defendere. Dum omnibus est animantibus inimicum, quod naturali lege damnatur. Videmus tauros, foeminas suas cornuali concertatione defendere: arietes pro suis ovibus capitaliter insaevisse: equos adiunctas sibi foeminas colaphis ac morsibus vindicare. Ita pro copulatis sibi animas ponunt, qui verecundia non moventur. Homo autem quemadmodum patitur adulterium inultum relinquere, quod ad aeternum suum dedecus cognoscitur commississe? (Cf. *R. & B.* VIII, 482-487.)

*R. & B.* VIII, 482-487, under *R. & B.* I, 231.

#### BROWNING AND CATULLUS

*R. & B.* V, 1209-1210 mentions Catullus critically.<sup>1</sup>

*R. & B.* VI, 386-388 mentions Catullus critically.

*R. & B.* VIII, 131, "*Taedas jugales iniit, subiit*": Catullus, 64, 302, has "*taedas voluit celebrare iugalis*."

*R. & B.* XII, 277: Catullus, 3, 2.

#### BROWNING AND CICERO

"The Bishop Orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church," 77, mentions Cicero (i.e. "Tully"). (Cf. *ibid.* 100.)

"The Bishop Orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church," 100, under *ibid.* 77.

*R. & B.* I, 1157, mentions "Ciceronian" cranks.

*R. & B.* VIII, 101, mentions the *Pro Milone*.

*R. & B.* VIII, 166, mentions Tully.

*R. & B.* IX, 782-783: Cicero, *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 21.

*R. & B.* XII, 327: Cicero, *Rep.* 2, 44, 4.

*A. A.* 2062-2066: Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* 1, 15, *Idemque disputat, aethere esse eum, quem homines Jovem appellarent: quique aër*

<sup>1</sup> The epithet *doctus* is applied to Catullus in Tibullus, 3, 7, 9. It is *not* applied to him in Horace, *Satires*, 1, 10, 19, "Nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum." Martial, *Epigrams*, 31, 1 (I, lxi) (Paley), "Verona docti syllabas amat vatis," refers to Catullus (cf. *Epigrams*, 586, 5 (X, ciii)). Ovid addresses Catullus in the *Amores*, 3, 9, 62 as "docte Catulle." Browning may have seen in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* (s. v. "Catullus") the paragraph beginning, "The epithet *doctus* applied to our poet by Tibullus, Ovid, Martial, and others, has given rise to considerable discussion."

per maria manaret, eum esse Neptunum: terram, eam quae Ceres diceretur. Similique ratione persequitur vocabula reliquorum deorum. (The passage refers to Chrysippus.) Cicero quotes (*ibid.* 2, 25 and 3, 16) the fragment of Euripides (i.e. *fr.* 941, Nauck) identifying Zeus with aether. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," "Browning and Euripides," and "Browning and Lucian.")

#### BROWNING AND COLUTHUS

"Pippa Passes," II, 39-40, refers to a copy of the *De Raptu Helenae* by Coluthus of Lycopolis in Egypt, a manuscript of which was discovered by Cardinal Bessarion in Calabria. (Cf. *R. & B.* VI, 1747.) *R. & B.* VI, 1747, under "Pippa Passes," II, 39-40.

#### BROWNING AND DIOGENES LAERTIUS

- A. A. 219-220: Anaxagoras, 1, 'Anaxagoras . . . was the first philosopher who attributed mind to matter. . . . On which account he himself got the name of Mind.'
- A. A. 260-263 (the figure is continued to line 296): Diogenes, 6, 'When some people said to him, "You are an old man, and should rest for the remainder of your life"; "Why so?" replied he, "Suppose I had run a long distance, ought I to stop when I was near the end, and not rather press on?"' (Cf. "life's racecourse," in A. A. 4259, Browning's version of *Heracles*, 662, *διὰ τὸν δρόμον*.)
- A. A. 2036-2037: Anaxagoras, 4, 'He (Anaxagoras) asserted that the sun was a mass of burning iron, greater than Peloponnesus.'<sup>1</sup> (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 2041-2044: Protagoras, 3, 'He (Protagoras) was the first person who asserted that in every question there were two sides to the argument exactly opposite to one another. And he used to employ them in his arguments, being the first person who did so.' (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plato.")
- A. A. 2051-2052: Protagoras, 3, 'And another of his treatises he begins in this way: "Concerning the Gods, I am not able to know

<sup>1</sup> Browning's lines refer to Prodicus; we have in them perhaps a fanciful reconstruction of ancient science similar in method to the fanciful reconstruction of the *Grasshoppers* as a play by Aristophanes.

for a certainty whether they exist or whether they do not. For there are many things which prevent one from knowing, especially the obscurity of the subject, and the shortness of the life of man." And on account of this beginning of his treatise, he was banished by the Athenians. And they burnt his books in the market place, calling them in by the public crier, and compelling all who possessed them to surrender them.' *Ibid.* 5, 'The first of his works that he ever read in public was the treatise on the Gods, the beginning of which we have quoted above, and he read this at Athens in the house of Euripides.' (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.")

- A. A. 2062-2066: Empedocles, 12, 'And he (Empedocles) spoke thus on this subject:—"Bright Jove, life-giving Juno, Pluto dark, And Nestis, who fills mortal eyes with tears." Meaning by Jove fire, by Juno the earth, by Pluto the air, and by Nestis water.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Euripides," and "Browning and Lucian.")
- A. A. 2141-2143: Protagoras, 3, 'But he (Protagoras) began something in this manner: "Man is the measure of all things: of those things which exist as he is; and of those things which do not exist as he is not."' "
- A. A. 2148-2149: Zeno, 62, 'Again, they (the Stoics) say that that is duty, which is preferred, and which contains in itself reasonable arguments why we should prefer it; as for instance, its corresponding to the nature of life itself; and this argument extends to plants and animals, for even their nature is subject to the obligation of certain duties. . . . Now of the things done according to inclination, some are duties, and some are contrary to duty; and some are neither duties nor contrary to duty. Those are duties, which reason selects to do, as for instance, to honour one's parents, one's brothers, one's country, to gratify one's friends.' . . .

#### BROWNING AND DIOSCURIDES

- B. A. 206-211: *De Materia Medica*, I, III,<sup>1</sup> βαλαύστιόν ἐστιν ἄνθος ἀγρίας ῥόας. εἶδη δὲ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πλείονα· εὕρσκεται γὰρ καὶ λευκὸν καὶ πυρρὸν καὶ ῥοδόχρουν· ἔοικε δὲ κυτίνῳ ῥόας. χυλίζεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ἡ

<sup>1</sup> Sprengel's edition.



ὑποκιστῖς. δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει στυπτικὴν, ποιούσαν πρὸς ἃ καὶ ἡ ὑποκιστῖς καὶ ὁ κύτινος. (Cf. *B. A.* 263-264; *A. A.* 639-650; 5608-5609.)

*B. A.* 263-264: see above.

*A. A.* 639-650: see above. The name *Kubelion*, *A. A.* 644, may come from *id. ibid.* 4, 122.

*A. A.* 5608-5609: see above.

#### BROWNING AND EURIPIDES

*Pauline*, 573-576, "the boy," etc.: *Electra*, 215 sqq. (The *Choe-phoroe* of Aeschylus may be associated with this passage in *Pauline*, but the details suggest rather Euripides.)

*Sordello*, I, 400-405: *Bacchae*.

*Sordello*, V, 379, "a thyrsus": *Bacchae*, 25, and elsewhere.

"Waring," 122-125: *Iphigenia at Aulis* (Browning's lines build a picture round the facts recounted in the speech of the Messenger in lines 1540 sqq. of the Euripidean play.)

"Waring," 126-133: *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

"Bishop Blougram's Apology," 184: the final lines of the *Andromache*, the *Bacchae*, the *Medea*, and the *Alcestis* constitute a formula which may be the basis for Browning's line. This formula is translated by A. S. Way as follows:

O the works of the Gods — in manifold forms they reveal them:  
Manifold things unhop'd-for the Gods to accomplishment bring.  
And the things that we looked for, the Gods deign not to fulfil them;  
And the paths undiscern'd of our eyes, the Gods unseal them.  
So fell this marvellous thing.

*R. & B.* IX, 548-550: *Hecuba*, 239-241. (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

*R. & B.* X, 1667-1791, is a speech put into the mouth of Euripides *redivivus*, calculated to demonstrate that Christianity of the seventeenth century is no higher in morality or religion than the religion of Euripides. Lines 1703-1705 are based on the ancient *Vitae* of Euripides.

*B. A.* 134-136: *Vita Euripidis* (that by Suidas).

*B. A.* 161-164: *Bacchae*. (On *B. A.* 163, see "Browning and Herodotus.")

- B. A. 187, "Babai!": *Cyclops*, 156. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- B. A. 298-299: *Vita Euripidis* (in Eduardus Schwarz's edition of the *Scholia in Euripidem*, I, pp. 4-5), 'They say that having prepared a cave on Salamis with an opening toward the sea, he passed the day there, fleeing the crowd.' (Cf. A. A. 272-273; 284; 356; 910; 916; 927; 936.)
- B. A. 358-2396: *Alcestis*.
- B. A. 2397-2399; Argument II to the *Alcestis*.
- B. A. 2435-2660 is based on the *Alcestis*.
- Prince Hohenstiel-Schwanganu, Saviour of Society*, the motto: *Hercules*, 1275-1280.
- Fifine at the Fair*, 304-325: *Helena*.
- A. A. 47-50: *Vitae*<sup>1</sup> I, II, and IV contain the detail. The verses of Philemon are translated in A. A. 5693-5697. (Cf. A. A. 58-60; 5693-5697.)
- A. A. 58-60, under A. A. 47-50.
- A. A. 104: fragment of the *Phrixus*, 638 (Nauck), 'Who knows but that to live is to die, and to die is to live,' etc. (Cf. A. A. 1282-1284; 1953.)
- A. A. 138-140: *Heracidae*, 593 sqq. (A similar sentiment appears in the *Troades*, 637, 'Better death than life in bitterness.')
- A. A. 162-163, "why Medeia clove Nature asunder": *Medea*. (Cf. A. A. 1239; 2940.)
- A. A. 193-198; *Alcestis*, 1008 sqq. (Cf. A. A. 508-510; 2399-2402.)
- A. A. 206: the lost play called the *Andromeda*, of which fragments remain.
- A. A. 207: the lost *Cresphontes*, of which fragments remain.
- A. A. 214: *Bacchae*. (Cf. A. A. 311-312; 5289-5291.)
- A. A. 267-270: *Vita* I (Dindorf), 'and he (Euripides) did much with him (Archelaus), when he entered into the affairs of state.' The *Vitae* state that Euripides was a recluse at Athens, avoiding contact with common affairs. (Cf. A. A. 302-307; 2264-2265.)
- A. A. 272-273, under B. A. 298-299.
- A. A. 283, "cold hater of his kind," under A. A. 1295, below.
- A. A. 284, under B. A. 298-299.

<sup>1</sup> In Dindorf's edition of the *Scholia in Euripidem*, I, 1 sqq.

- A. A. 289-292: the "Match Of Life Contemplative with Active Life, Zethos against Amphion" is the lost *Antiope*. Browning probably drew the information from the introductory quotations preceding the fragments of the *Antiope* in Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. He may have seen there also the scholium on Aristophanes (see "Browning and Aristophanes," under A. A. 287-292) which led him to take the three plays as a trilogy. (Cf. A. A. 1330-1331; 1574.)
- A. A. 293-294: *Rhesus*, 123-124; 739-740.
- A. A. 302-307 is based on the *Vitae*. See, for example, under A. A. 267-270; 308-310.
- A. A. 308-310: *Vita* I, 'Going thence to Macedonia, he spent his time with Archelaus, and in honor of him wrote a play named after him.'
- A. A. 311-315: "maddened Pentheus" alludes to the *Bacchae*; the details about Iphigenia remind one of the closing scenes of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (e.g., 1101-1102; 1277 *sqq.*); the three plays are taken as a trilogy on the basis of the scholium on Aristophanes *Ranae*, 67, which states that after the death of Euripides, his son, whose name was also Euripides, presented these three plays at the City Dionysia. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 356, "his cave," under B. A. 298-299.
- A. A. 357-358: *Vita* V (Dindorf) mentions the story that women tore Euripides to pieces as he was going at an untimely hour to visit Craterus, τὸν ἐρώμενον Ἀρχελαίου.
- A. A. 359: *Vita* I states that Euripides was a disciple of Anaxagoras, Prodicus, Protagoras, and Socrates. (Cf. A. A. 364.)
- A. A. 360-363: *Vita* V states that the rival poets persuaded the keeper of the king's dogs to turn them loose on Euripides.
- A. A. 364, under A. A. 359.
- A. A. 369-375: *Vita* V provides the detail about the wife of Nicodiscus of Arethusa; *Vita* I, that about the dogs.<sup>1</sup>
- A. A. 417: *Iphigenia Taurica*, 1193.
- A. A. 419-430: *Hippolytus*. (Cf. A. A. 1412.)

<sup>1</sup> "Browning localizes the scene not in the ἄλσος, as tradition records (cf. *Vita* IV also), but in the palace-court." (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), 57, n. 2.)

- A. A. 489-490: *Vita* I, 'There is a cenotaph to him in Athens, and on it is an epitaph composed by Thucydides the historian.' (Cf. A. A. 493. See "Browning and Pausanias.")
- A. A. 493, under A. A. 489-490.
- A. A. 508-510, under A. A. 193-198.
- A. A. 532-558: *Hercules*.
- A. A. 801 may be reminiscent of *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1505-1507, 'Hail, Light divine!' etc.
- A. A. 910, under B. A. 298-299.
- A. A. 916, "cave," under B. A. 298-299.
- A. A. 927, under B. A. 298-299.
- A. A. 936, "cave," under B. A. 298-299.
- A. A. 1001-1003, mentioning the number of satyric plays by Euripides as five, may be simply a confused memory of the fact that the number of satyric plays was eight (see *Vita* III, *ad fin.*) and the number of victories five. Or, on some such basis as that of the statement in the *Prolegomena de Comoedia* (in Dübner's edition of the *Scholia in Aristophanem*) IXa, p. xix, 75-78, where it is denied that the *Alcestis* and the *Orestes* are true satyric dramas, Browning may have taken five as the actual number of true satyric dramas by Euripides. Possibly the *Helena* was the third play which Browning regarded as pseudo-satyric and subtracted from the eight referred to in *Vita* III. A. A. 2391, at any rate, mentions "some five" satyr plays by Euripides before he wrote the *Alcestis*, a substitute for a satyric play (see A. A. 2391-2406).
- A. A. 1005-1006: Argument to the *Alcestis* (and probably the passage in the *Prolegomena de Comoedia* referred to under A. A. 1001-1003, above. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and cf. A. A. 2391-2406.)
- A. A. 1010, "'Life's not Life'": fragment of the *Phrixus*, 833 (Nauck).<sup>1</sup> (Cf. A. A. 1282-1284; 1953.) (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 1011: *Hippolytus*, 612. (Cf. A. A. 2549, and "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 1023-1025: *Electra*, 520-578, involves a famous criticism of the devices employed by Aeschylus and by Sophocles to bring about the

<sup>1</sup> See above, under A. A. 104.

recognition of Orestes by Electra. Euripides shows that the evidence of the lock of hair, the footprint, and the bit of woven work (used in the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus, 167-234) are untrustworthy; he has Electra recognize Orestes by a scar. Sophocles (*Electra*, 900-901) introduces the lock of hair, and shows that it is unsatisfactory evidence; he has the recognition come through a signet ring (*Electra*, 1223). Euripides is apparently "taking exception" to both of his predecessors.

A. A. 1211-1221: *Vita* I, 'They say that Sophocles, when he heard that Euripides was dead, appeared in a dark mantle, and introduced his chorus and actors in the preliminary contest ungarlanded, and the people wept.'

A. A. 1239-1241: Argument to the *Medea*.

A. A. 1282-1284, under A. A. 104 and A. A. 1010.

A. A. 1295, "the cold . . . bard": *Vita* II states that Euripides had a serious face, and appeared thoughtful, austere, and averse to laughter and women. (Cf. A. A. 283; 1495; 1510; 1666-1667.) (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus," under A. A. 1495.)

A. A. 1295, "grave-bearded bard": *Vita* I, 'He is said to have worn a long beard and to have had freckles on his face.' (Cf. A. A. 1555.)

A. A. 1330-1331, under A. A. 289-292.

A. A. 1412, under A. A. 419-430.

A. A. 1414 refers to the lost play *Bellerophon*, of which fragments are preserved.

A. A. 1416: *Supplices*. (Cf. A. A. 2481-2486.)

A. A. 1423: fragment 299 of the *Bellerophon*, 'Compared with necessity, all else is weak.' (Cf. A. A. 2068; 2147; 3478-3479; and cf. "Browning and Plato.")

A. A. 1444: *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1211-1212 (Orpheus charms the rocks). (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

A. A. 1495, "cold Euripides," under A. A. 1295.

A. A. 1510, "cold," under A. A. 1295.

A. A. 1555, under A. A. 1295, "grave-bearded bard." (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 1561-1562: *Vita* II, 'And Hermippus says that Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, after the death of Euripides sent a talent to the heirs of Euripides and got his psalterion, his tablet, and his graver;

and upon seeing them, ordered those who bore them to set them up in the temple of the Muses, inscribed with the names of Euripides and himself.' (Cf. A. A. 5686-5691.)

A. A. 1574, under A. A. 289-292.

A. A. 1612-1615: *Electra*, 900 sqq.

A. A. 1666-1667, under A. A. 1295.

A. A. 1789-1790: suggestive analogies include *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1034-1035, 'If there be Gods, thy righteousness shall earn Their favour; if not, wherefore should men toil?'; *Electra*, 583-584, 'We must believe no more In Gods, if wrong shall triumph over right'; and *Bellerophon*, fragment 286, 'Who then says there are Gods in heaven? They are not, they are not, unless a man wishes like a fool to indulge in the old story.' (Cf. A. A. 2051-2052; 2140; 2147; 2178; 2479-2480; 5710. Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 1941, "Cheiron's hero-pap," may be associated with *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 926-927, in which Achilles says, 'Fostered by Cheiron, one that feared God most, Was I, and learned to tread no tortuous ways.'

A. A. 1953, under A. A. 104 and A. A. 1010.

A. A. 2051-2052, under A. A. 1789-1790.

A. A. 2054: *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 793-800, 'For thy sake, child of the swan arch-necked, If credence-worthy the story be That Leda bare to a winged bird thee, When Zeus with its plumes had his changed form decked, Or whether in scrolls of minstrelsy Such tales unto mortals hath Fable brought, Told out of season, and all for nought.'

A. A. 2064: fragment of the *Melanippe*, 487 (Nauck), 'I invoke sacred aether, abode of Zeus'; fragment of the Chrysippus, 839 (Nauck), ' Mightiest Earth and Aether of Zeus.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," and "Browning and Lucian.")

A. A. 2140: *Hercules*, 339-341; 498-501; particularly 501, 'Yet oft hast thou been prayed: in vain I toil.' This line in the *Apology* must, by the context, be based on the *Hercules*. The protests of Amphitryon against the failure of Zeus to help him are therefore probably the source. (Cf. A. A. 1789-1790.)

A. A. 2147, "There are no gods," under A. A. 1789-1790.

- A. A. 2147, "but there's 'Necessity'": fragment of the *Bellerophon*, 299 (Nauck), quoted under A. A. 1423. Cf. fragment 965 (Nauck), 'Who of mortals has acquiesced in necessity is wise among us and understands divine matters.'
- A. A. 2178, under A. A. 1789-1790.
- A. A. 2237-2241: fragment of the *Bellerophon*, 297 (Nauck), explains that the more a man profits by boldness in evil, the less he minds censure; and fragment of the *Cresphontes*, 459, states that a man should amass enough wealth to ward off grief. Such remarks about money must have been the suggestion on which Browning was working.
- A. A. 2243 is perhaps based on the statements in some of the Arguments to the plays of Euripides regarding the rating of them, as the specific details in the following lines come from such sources.
- A. A. 2245: Argument II of the *Hippolytus*, 'Euripides was first; Iophon, second; and Ion, third.' (Cf. A. A. 2250; 2253; and see "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 2250, under A. A. 2245.
- A. A. 2253, under A. A. 2245.
- A. A. 2254, "Euphorions": Argument to the *Medea* by Aristophanes Grammaticus, 'Euphorion first, Sophocles second, Euripides third.'
- A. A. 2264-2265, under A. A. 267-270.
- A. A. 2266: the *Erechtheus*, a lost play, of which fragments remain. (Cf. A. A. 2332.) Browning may have had particularly in mind the address by Erechtheus in fragment 360 (Nauck).
- A. A. 2332 is probably based on the speech of Erechtheus, devoting his daughter to death for the good of the state, referred to under A. A. 2266. The fragment is fairly long, and does great credit to the power of Euripides in developing a sincere patriotic appeal.
- A. A. 2385-2392, under A. A. 1001-1003.
- A. A. 2392-2397: *Cyclops*.
- A. A. 2398-2406, under A. A. 1005-1006.
- A. A. 2479-2480, under A. A. 1789-1790.
- A. A. 2481-2486: *Supplices*, 409-455. (Cf. A. A. 1416.)
- A. A. 2549, under A. A. 1011.
- A. A. 2940, under A. A. 162-163.

A. A. 3020-3034: fragment 453 (Nauck) of the *Cresphontes*.

A. A. 3478-3479, under A. A. 1423.

A. A. 3535-5048: *Hercules*.

A. A. 5174-5175: *Rhesus*. (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

A. A. 5191-5196: *Rhesus*, 921-925:

'What time we came unto Pangaeus' ridge,  
Whose dust is gold, with flute and lyre arrayed,  
We Muses, for great strife of minstrelsy  
With Thracia's cunning bard; and we made blind  
Thamyris, who full oft had mocked our skill.'

(Cf. A. A. 5267-5268.) (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

A. A. 5267-5268, under A. A. 5191-5196.

A. A. 5289-5291, under A. A. 214; and see under A. A. 311-315.

A. A. 5336: fragment of the *Aeolus*, 19 (Nauck). (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Athenaeus.")

A. A. 5551-5553: *Electra*, 167-169, 'Atreides' child, Electra, I have come Unto thy rustic home.'

A. A. 5571-5579: *Electra*.

A. A. 5589-5605: *Electra*.

A. A. 5643-5645: *Vita* I provides this date for the birth of Euripides, 'He was born in Salamis in the archonship of Callias in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, when the Greeks fought the Persians at sea.' The day and the month are provided by Plutarch (see "Browning and Plutarch").

A. A. 5686-5691, under A. A. 1561-1562.

A. A. 5693-5697, under A. A. 47-50.

A. A. 5710, under A. A. 1789-1790.

"Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 581, mentions Euripides.

"Oh, Love, Love"<sup>1</sup> is a translation of the *Hippolytus*, 525-544.

"Apollo and the Fates," headnote, refers to *Alcestis*, 12, 33, in which it is stated that Apollo cozened the Fates in securing the promise that Admetus might escape death if a person might be found who would die in his place.

"Bernard de Mandeville," 204-206, compares Euripides and Aeschylus as interpreters of myth.

<sup>1</sup> Centenary Edition, IX, 345; first printed in J. P. Mahaffy's *Euripides*, 1879.



## BROWNING AND HERODOTUS

*Sordello*, II, 89-92: Herodotus 3, 28, describes Apis. (Cf. "Browning and Pliny.")

*Sordello*, V, 81-84: Herodotus, 1, 53, 'and the opinions of both oracles concurred, foretelling "that if Croesus should make war on the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire."' Herodotus, 1, 90-91, recounts how, after being defeated and captured by Cyrus, Croesus sent certain Lydians to Delphi to ask if it were the custom of the Greek gods to be ungrateful, and if the god were not ashamed to have encouraged Croesus by his oracles to make war on the Persians; whereto the Pythian is reported to have answered, among other statements, that had Croesus desired to be truly informed, when the oracle foretold that if he made war on the Persians he would subvert a great empire, he ought to have sent again to inquire whether his own or that of Cyrus was meant.

R. & B. I, 295-297: Herodotus, the stories of Croesus, Xerxes, and Polycrates. Of these, perhaps the most impressive, in relation to Browning's lines, is that of Croesus and Solon (Herodotus, 1, 29-91).

R. & B. VIII, 570-571, "The Athenian Code, Solon's": Herodotus, 1, 29, 'Solon, an Athenian, who, having made laws for the Athenians at their request, absented himself for ten years,' etc. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

B. A. 163: Herodotus, 2, 145, 'Among the Greeks, the most recent of the gods are thought to be Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan,' etc. The line may, however, have been suggested by the *Bacchae* of Euripides, on which is based the passage in which it occurs (cf. "Browning and Euripides").

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 1028-1035: Herodotus, 7, 31, 'Xerxes, going by this way, met with a plane-tree, which, on account of its beauty, he presented with golden ornaments, and, having committed it to the care of one of the immortals, on the next day he arrived at Sardis,' etc.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1294-1320: Herodotus, 1, 23-24, gives the story of how Arion of Methymna, leaving Periander to voyage to Italy and Sicily, when the Corinthian sailors conspired to throw him into the sea and seize his money, 'having put on all his robes, and taken

his harp, stood on the rowing benches and went through the Orthian strain,' then leaped into the sea, and was carried on the back of a dolphin to Taenarus. Arion 'was the first,' writes Herodotus (1, 23), 'that we are acquainted with, who composed, named, and represented the dithyrambs at Corinth'; and (1, 24) that he 'continued a long time with Periander.'

- A. A. 176-180: Herodotus, 6, 21, 'the Athenians made it evident that they were excessively grieved at the capture of Miletus, both in many other ways, and more particularly when Phrynichus had composed a drama of the capture of Miletus, and represented it, the whole theatre burst into tears, and fined him a thousand drachms for renewing the memory of their domestic misfortunes; and they gave orders that thenceforth no one should act this drama.'
- A. A. 682, "Ye circumcised of Egypt," might be associated with Herodotus, 2, 36, 'the Egyptians are circumcised'; but is probably based on Aristophanes (see "Browning and Aristophanes").
- A. A. 2860-2861: Herodotus, 3, 115, 'nor am I acquainted with the Cassiterides islands, from whence our tin comes.' (Cf. A. A. 5146.)
- A. A. 5146, "the Tin-islands," under A. A. 2860-2861.
- "La Saisiaz," 419: Herodotus, 1, 32 (in the famous address of Solon to Croesus) "'for the Deity having shown a glimpse of happiness to many, has afterward utterly overthrown them.'" Perhaps, however, no particular source is properly to be adduced.
- "Pheidippides," 1-88: Herodotus, 6, 105-106, 'And, first, while the generals were yet in the city, they dispatched a herald to Sparta, one Phidippides, an Athenian, who was a courier by profession, one who attended to this very business. This man, then, as Phidippides himself said and reported to the Athenians, Pan met near Mount Parthenion, above Tegea; and Pan, calling out the name of Phidippides, bade him ask the Athenians why they paid no attention to him, who was well inclined to the Athenians, and had often been useful to them, and would be so hereafter. The Athenians, therefore, as their affairs were then in a prosperous condition, believed that this was true, and erected a temple to Pan beneath the Acropolis, and in consequence of that message they propitiate Pan with yearly sacrifices and the torch race. This Phidippides, being sent by the generals at that time when he said Pan appeared to him,

arrived in Sparta on the following day after his departure from the city of the Athenians, and on coming in presence of the magistrates, he said, "Lacedaemonians, the Athenians entreat you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient city among the Greeks to fall into bondage to barbarians; for Eretria is already reduced to slavery, and Greece has become weaker by the loss of a renowned city." He accordingly delivered the message according to his instructions, and they resolved indeed to assist the Athenians; but it was out of their power to do so immediately, as they were unwilling to violate the law; for it was the ninth day of the current month, and they said they could not march out on the ninth day, the moon's circle not being full. They therefore waited for the full moon.' Herodotus, 6, 48-49, tells us how Darius 'dispatched heralds, appointing different persons to go to different parts throughout Greece, with orders to demand earth and water for the king.' The Athenians, however, threatened the Aeginetae when they gave the tribute of earth and water to Darius, thinking that the Aeginetae did so out of desire to join the Persians against the Athenians. Herodotus, 6, 94, 'War was accordingly kindled between the Athenians and the Aeginetae. But the Persian pursued his own design . . . desirous of subduing those . . . who had refused to give him earth and water.' (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.") "O latest," in line 6 of the poem, is probably a reminiscence of the passage in Herodotus, 2, 145, quoted under *B. A.* 163, above. On line 9, see "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Thucydides." On lines 76-77, see "Browning and Aeschylus."

"Pheidippides," 115-120, may be associated with the account in Herodotus, 1, 31, of the happy death of Cleobis and Biton, the conclusion of which is (in Solon's words), "'After they had done this in sight of the assembled people, a most happy termination was put to their lives; and in them the deity clearly showed that it is better for a man to die than to live.'"

"Echetlos," 13-15: Herodotus, 6, 111, states that 'The war-minister, Callimachus, commanded the right wing'; 6, 113, 'The battle at Marathon lasted a long time; and in the middle of the line, where the Persians themselves and the Sacae were arrayed, the barbarians were victorious;' 6, 114, 'And . . . the war-minister, Callimachus,

was killed, having proved himself a brave man.' (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

"Echetlos," 18, "the Sakian . . . the Mede": Herodotus, 6, 113 (quoted under "Echetlos," 13-15, above).

"Echetlos," 21, "the last blood-plashed seaside": Herodotus, 6, 113, 'They followed the Persians in their flight, cutting them to pieces, till, reaching the shore, they called for fire and attacked the ships.'

"Echetlos," 28-29: Herodotus, 6, 132-136, gives the account of the wretched end of Miltiades after receiving an injury to his thigh at Paros. He was tried by the Athenians on a charge of having deceived them, and 'The people so far favoring him as to acquit him of the capital offense, and having fined him fifty talents for the injury he had done, Miltiades soon after ended his life by the putrefaction and mortification of his thigh.' How Miltiades urged the Athenians to give battle to the Persians at Marathon, and succeeded in inducing the polemarch Callimachus to give the deciding vote for battle is explained in Herodotus, 6, 109. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

"Gerard de Lairese," 333-334, seems reminiscent of the accounts of Darius in Herodotus.

#### BROWNING AND HESIOD

"Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 573-576: *Opera et Dies*, 770-771. Browning has "egeinato" where Hesiod has γείνατο.

#### BROWNING AND HOMER<sup>1</sup>

*Pauline*, 323-324, "an old hunter Talking with gods": *Iliad*, 24, 55-64, the gods at the wedding of Peleus with Thetis.

*Pauline*, 324-325: *Odyssey*, 3, 157-164, Nestor says, "And these sailed very quickly; for a god smoothed the whale-like sea. And arriving at Tenedos we offered sacrifices to the gods, longing for home; but Jupiter did not yet design our return." . . .

*Pauline*, 919-921: *Odyssey*, IX, 82-97, the ships of Odysseus come after a stormy voyage to the land of the Lotus-Eaters.

<sup>1</sup> In this section are included, besides the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, some works anciently ascribed to Homer.

- Paracelsus*, II, 357-358, "hast withstood her lips, The Siren's": *Odyssey*, 12, 165-200, the escape of Odysseus from the Siren.
- Paracelsus*, III, 907-910: *Odyssey*, 19, 572-581, describes the bow of Ulysses, which plays a principal part in the contest, and in the slaying of the suitors, in book 21. *Iliad*, 18, 478-608, describes the shield of Achilles; *Iliad*, 19, 364-399, describes the appearance of Achilles in his new armor, gleaming in the midst of the host, the brightness of his shield reaching the sky, his helmet shining like a star, and his whole armor glittering like the shining sun.
- Pippa Passes*, I, 427, "Phene, which is, by interpretation, sea-eagle": the name might have been known to Browning from *Odyssey*, 3, 372, or 16, 217.
- Pippa Passes*, II, 46-47: *Odyssey*, 22, 8. The line is appropriate in *Pippa Passes*, because it deals with the death of a rival in love.
- "The Englishman in Italy," 199-227, may be associated with the account of the Sirens in *Odyssey*, 12, 165-207.
- "Old Pictures in Florence," 101: *Hymn to Apollo*, 300-304, where Apollo kills "the snake" at Parnassus.
- "Cleon," 41-42: *Odyssey*, 6, 42-46, the cloudless serenity of Olympus, without wind or snow.
- "Mr. Sludge, 'The Medium,'" 1436-1438: *Iliad* (in general).
- R. & B.* I, 490: *Iliad*, 2, 667-670. (Cf. "Browning and Pindar.")
- R. & B.* II, 1003-1006, mentions Helen, Troy, and Paris. (Cf. *R. & B.* V, 1264.)
- R. & B.* III, 1450-1455: *Odyssey*, 8, 266-366. (Cf. *R. & B.* VI, 1459-1463; IX, 868-877; XI, 1958.)
- R. & B.* IV, 1144: *Odyssey*, 8, 266-366, particularly 362-363, 'But she, the laughter-loving Venus, came to Cyprus, to Paphos, where is her grove and incensed altar.' (Cf. "Browning and Virgil.")
- R. & B.* V, 1264, under *R. & B.* II, 1003-1006.
- R. & B.* VI, 1459-1463, under *R. & B.* III, 1450-1455.
- R. & B.* VIII, 898-900: *Iliad*, 4, 34-36. For the Latin version, see "Browning and Persius."
- R. & B.* IX, 548-551: *Odyssey*, 4, 240-248. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.")
- R. & B.* IX, 626, "Helen's nepenthe": *Odyssey*, 4, 219-226.
- R. & B.* IX, 845-846, mentions the fall of Troy after ten years.

- R. & B. IX, 868-877,<sup>1</sup> under R. & B. III, 1450-1455.
- R. & B. IX, 985 and 988: *Iliad*, 1, 423-427.
- R. & B. IX, 1391-1393: *Iliad*, 5, 87-92.
- R. & B. XI, 1119-1127: *Iliad*, 6, 179-183.
- R. & B. XI, 1925, "Aegiochus," is the epithet frequently applied to Zeus in Homer (e.g., *Iliad*, 15, 175). (Cf. R. & B. XI, 1936.)
- R. & B. XI, 1936, "Aegiochus," under R. & B. XI, 1925.
- R. & B. XI, 1958, under R. & B. III, 1450-1455. In the *Iliad* (l. c.) Apollo asks Mercury if he would be willing to be caught in the net with Venus as Mars had been caught by Vulcan, so that Apollo is taken here by Guido as a condoner of adultery.
- R. & B. XI, 2211-2213: *Odyssey*, 10, 203 sqq. (the story of Circe).
- B. A. 187-190: *Iliad*, 4, 350, or *Odyssey*, 1, 64, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων; the phrase ἕρκος ὀδόντων appears frequently in Homer. *Iliad*, 3, 221-223, 'But when he did send forth the mighty voice from his breast, and words like unto wintry flakes of snow, no longer then would another mortal contend with Ulysses.' *Iliad*, 12, 278-286, contains a remarkable simile of a snowstorm to describe the storm of missiles in a battle. (Cf. "Donald," 234-235.)
- Fifine at the Fair*, 209-217, refers to the relations between Helen and Venus. The reference is to the *Iliad* in general. (Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 263-264; 358-361; 416-422; 584; 2285.)
- Fifine at the Fair*, 263-264, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209-217. "Purple prows" may be a version of νέας φοινικοπαρήους of *Odyssey*, 11, 124; 23, 271.
- Fifine at the Fair*, 358-361, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209-217. 'Beaked ships' are mentioned in *Iliad*, 2, 392. "Equal-sided ships" may be a version of νῆας ἀμφιελίσσας, of *Iliad*, 2, 165, and elsewhere. "Well-greaved Greeks" is a translation of the common Homeric phrase, ἐὺκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.
- Fifine at the Fair*, 416-422, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209-217.
- Fifine at the Fair*, 584, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209-217.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. K. Cook's comment on this passage includes the following remarks:—"Many critics, ancient and modern, have rejected the passage (i.e., *Odyssey*, 8, 266-366) 'seeing scandal' in it. Others, including Mr. Gladstone, have regarded it as 'neither unworthy of Homer nor unlike him.' The question of its authenticity is fully discussed in Dr. Merry's edition of the *Odyssey*, i, pp. 332-333."

*Fifine at the Fair*, 774-786: *Odyssey*, 4, 365-425. 'The sea-beasts with bitter breath' appear in line 406 of the *Odyssey*, l. c.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2285, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209-217.

A. A. 401-403: *Batrachomyomachia*, 160-167, describing the armor and arms of the frogs, gives them sharp bulrushes for spears. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.")

A. A. 1914-1917: *Iliad*, 7, 219-224, 'And Aias came near bearing his tower-like shield of bronze, with seven-fold ox-hide, that Tychios had wrought him cunningly; Tychios . . . who made him his glancing shield, of sevenfold hides of stalwart bulls, and overlaid the seven with bronze. This bare Telamonian Aias before his breast,' etc. Concerning the shield, cf. *Iliad*, 7, 245 and 266; 11, 545; and concerning his power in feats of strength, see *Iliad*, 23, 842-843.

A. A. 5174-5182: *Iliad*, 2, 594-600 . . . 'and Dorion — where the Muses met Thamyras the Thracian, and made an end of his singing, as he was faring from Oichalia, from Eurytos the Oichalian; for he averred with boasting that he would conquer, even did the Muses themselves sing against him, the daughters of Aegis-bearing Zeus; but they in their anger maimed him, moreover they took from him the high gift of song and made him to forget his harping.' — (Cf. A. A. 5188-5193; 5263-5272.) (On A. A. 5174-5175, see also "Browning and Euripides.")

A. A. 5188-5193, under A. A. 5174-5182. The internal rhyming in A. A. 5189 may have been suggested by the Homeric formula (e. g. *Iliad*, 2, 484; 11, 218; 14, 508; 16, 112) "Ἐσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι. "Perpend the first, the worst" at the beginning of a song about the Muses is at any rate similar in effect to these invocations to the Muses in the *Iliad*. (On A. A. 5191-5193, see also "Browning and Euripides.")

A. A. 5263-5272, under A. A. 5174-5182. (On A. A. 5267-5268, see also "Browning and Euripides.")

"St. Martin's Summer," 71-72: *Odyssey*, 23, 210-212, 'but the gods have given thee toil, who envied that we, remaining near one another, should be delighted with youth, and reach the threshold of old age.'

*The Two Poets of Croisic*, 1225-1226, probably refers to Agamemnon and Homer in connection with the *Iliad*.

- "Donald," 234-235, "as Homer would say, 'within grate Though teeth kept tongue'": see *B. A.* 187-190.
- "Helen's Tower" (published in December, 1883; written in 1870): *Iliad*, 3, 121 sqq., the account of Helen's visit to the Scaean Gate, whence she observes the Greeks, and watches the single combat between Paris and Menelaus. The phrase 'Ἑλένην ἐπὶ πύργον, which furnishes the motto for the poem, occurs in line 154 of the *Iliad*, l. c.
- "Apollo and the Fates," headnote, refers the reader to "Hymn. in Mercurium, v. 559." Lines 558-563 of the *Hymn to Mercury* state that the three Fates feed on honey and bring all things to pass; that they tell the truth when drunk on the fresh honey, but deceive when they are deprived of it.
- "Gerard de Lairese," 409-410: *Odyssey*, 11, 488-491, where Achilles in Hades says, "I would wish, being on earth, to serve for hire with another man of no estate, who had not much livelihood, rather than rule over all the departed dead."
- "Charles Avison," 225-231: *Iliad*, 3, 234-244.
- "Fust and his Friends," 65, mentions Helen of Troy.
- "Beatrice Signorini," 250-253: *Odyssey*, 23, 333-336, where Odysseus tells Penelope of the episode of Calypso. "Embracing and the rest" is based on the passage preceding this in the *Odyssey*.
- "Development" mentions the general substance of the *Iliad*; refers to the *Batrachomyomachia*, the *Hymns*, and the lost *Margites*; recounts Byron's theory that Scio was probably the birthplace of Homer; discusses Wolf's *Prolegomena*; and informs us that Browning first read the *Iliad* in Pope's translation, and afterward in Heyne's edition (the name is spelled *Heine* in the poem).
- "Development," 101-102, "love my wedded wife, Like Hector": *Iliad*, 6, 369-496, where Hector bids farewell to his wife.
- "Gerousios Oinos":<sup>1</sup> the title is from the *Iliad*, 4, 259, and Heyne's note *ad loc.* states that the phrase "dixit vinum senibus praeberi solitum honoris causa."

<sup>1</sup> "This poem, which was put into type at the same time as the volume *Jocoseria* (1883), was not eventually published, but came to light in its present form as a rough printed proof in what is known as 'galley-slip' . . . in May 1913. . . . It was first published in the *Cornhill Magazine* and the *Century Magazine*, April,



## BROWNING AND HORACE

*Sordello*, II, 683-685, "Apollo, seemed it now, perverse had thrown Quiver and bow away, the lyre alone Sufficed." *Odes*, 2, 10, 18-20, 'Apollo sometimes rouses the silent lyric muse, neither does he always bend his bow.' (Cf. *R. & B.* IX, 1542-1544.)

*Sordello*, V, 66: *Odes*, 1, 37, 5, mentions Caecuban as a highly-prized wine; and line 14 of the same Ode mentions Mareotic wine as the sort with which the Egyptian queen had been crazed.

*A Soul's Tragedy*, Act II, 532, "a profane vulgar": *Odes*, 3, 1, 1, "profanum vulgus." (Cf. "Imperante Augusto Natus Est —" 90.)

"An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137, "The golden mean": *Odes*, 2, 10, 5, "Auream quisquis mediocritatem." (Cf. *R. & B.* IV, 1278; VIII, 861; X, 1698; and "Christopher Smart," 22-23.)

"Instans Tyrannus": *Odes*, 3, 3, 1-8, 'Not the rage of the people pressing to hurtful measures, not the aspect of a threatening tyrant, can shake from his settled purpose the man who is just,' etc. The phrase "instantis tyranni" appears in line 3 of the Ode.

"The Statue and the Bust," 250, "*De te, fabula!*": *Satires*, 1, 1, 69-70, "Quid rides? mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur."

*R. & B.* II, 114-115: *Satires*, 1, 7, 3, "Omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse."

*R. & B.* II, 1270, "Canidian hate": *Epodes*, 5, 11-24, shows Canidia as a witch torturing a boy and preparing poisoned ointments; *Epodes*, 17, is a dialogue between Horace and Canidia, in which she refuses to do anything but increase by her magic the frenzy of love in the poet. (Cf. "White Witchcraft.")

*R. & B.* II, 1376-1377: *Epodes*, 5, 19, where 'the gore of a loathsome toad' is one of the poisons used by Canidia. (Cf. *R. & B.* V, 1389.)

1914." (Headnote under the title in *New Poems by Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915.) The poem is reprinted on p. 1336 of the one-volume edition of the *Complete Poetical Works of Robert Browning*, New York, the Macmillan Company, 1919. It was suppressed, doubtless because of its attack on contemporary poets.

- R. & B. III, 410-419: *Satires*, 2, 6, 77-117, the story of the town mouse and the country mouse. (Cf. "Browning and Aesop.")
- R. & B. III, 1322: *Ars Poetica*, 139, "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus." (Cf. "Browning and Aesop.")
- R. & B. IV, 31-32: *Satires*, 1, 5, 12-13.
- R. & B. IV, 1278, under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137.
- R. & B. V, 922, "*Stans pede in uno*": *Satires*, 1, 4, 10. The phrase means 'without the slightest effort.'
- R. & B. V, 1389, under R. & B. II, 1376-1377.
- R. & B. VIII, 47-58, follows the train of thought of *Odes*, 2, 16, though not closely enough to be regarded as directly based on it. The contempt for the "heights o' the court" (line 46) is paralleled in *Odes*, 1, 1, 7-8, 'This man (it delights), if a crowd of the capricious Quirites strive to raise him to the highest dignities.' The contempt for "the camp" is paralleled in *Odes*, 1, 1, 23-25, 'The camp, and the sound of the trumpet mingled with that of the clarion, and wars detested by mothers, rejoice many.' "Nutshell" may be a translation of "cassa nuce," in *Satires*, 2, 5, 36.
- R. & B. VIII, 475, "*Pocimur!*": *Odes*, 1, 32, 1. The word means 'We are called upon (for an ode).'
- R. & B. VIII, 861, under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137.
- R. & B. VIII, 1183-1184: *Satires*, 2, 7, 116. Browning wrote *mī* instead of *mihi*, for the sake either of his own metre or of making Dominus Hyacinthus use a prose rhythm rather than that of Horace.
- R. & B. VIII, 1234-1235: *Satires*, 1, 2, 44-46, "quin etiam illud Accidit, ut quidam testes caudamque salacem Demeteret ferro. 'Iure' omnes; Galba negabat."
- R. & B. VIII, 1805-1807: *Epodes*, 8, 13-14, "Nec sit marita, quae rotundioribus Onusta baccis ambulet."
- R. & B. IX, 217: *Ars Poetica*, 148-149, "Semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit," etc.
- R. & B. IX, 347-348: *Odes*, 2, 4, 17-18. *Illam* in Horace is changed to *illum* in Browning.
- R. & B. IX, 405, "*Insanit homo*": *Satires*, 2, 7, 117.

- R. & B. IX, 576-582, may be associated with *Odes*, 4, 2, 1-4, 'Whoever endeavors, O Iulus, to rival Pindar, makes an effort on wings fastened with wax by art Daedalean, about to communicate his name to the glassy sea.'
- R. & B. IX, 713-714: *Odes*, 1, 13, 15-16, 'those sweet kisses, which Venus has imbued with the fifth part of all her nectar.'
- R. & B. IX, 722-723: *Ars Poetica*, 142, "'Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.'"
- R. & B. IX, 838: *Odes*, 3, 11, 35, "Splendide mendax," etc.
- R. & B. IX, 873, "nugatory song": *Satires*, 1, 9, 2, "nugarum" (the word may, in the mouth of Horace in this context, mean 'trifling songs,' or something of the sort). (Cf. R. & B. VIII, 58.)
- R. & B. IX, 891, "the garb of truth": *Odes*, 1, 24, 7, "nudaque Veritas."
- R. & B. IX, 1018-1019: *Satires*, 1, 1, 24-25, "quamquam ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat?" (Cf. A. A. 393; 461; 1030; 2798; 2990-2991; 3091-3093.)
- R. & B. IX, 1506: *Satires*, 2, 1, 86, "'Solventur risu tabulae, tu missis abibis.'"
- R. & B. IX, 1542-1544, under *Sordello*, II, 683-684.
- R. & B. IX, 1564, "*tenax proposito*": *Odes*, 3, 3, 1, "Justum et tenacem propositi virum."
- R. & B. X, 1191, "reluctant dragons": *Odes*, 4, 4, 11, "reluctantes dracones."
- R. & B. X, 1698, "the golden mean," under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137. The phrase here is attributed to Greek, however, so that in connection with it should be considered such Greek phrases as τὸ μέσον or ἡ μεσότης (Aristotle, *Ethics*, 2, 5) and the proverbial μηδὲν ἄγαν (Diogenes Laertius, "Solon," 16).
- R. & B. XI, 800, "one genius ruled our births": *Epistles*, 2, 2, 187, "Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum."
- R. & B. XII, 29: *Epistles*, 1, 11, 28, "Strenua nos exercet inertia."
- B. A. 194-195: *Epistles*, 1, 19, 44-45, 'you are confident that it is you alone who can distil the poetic honey.' (Cf. A. A. 2719-2732.)

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2080-2081, "A nod, Out-Homerizing Homer!": *Ars Poetica*, 359, "quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus." (Cf. *A. A.* 2080.)

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2082-2083, "Meanwhile, Use the allotted minute!": *Odes*, 1, 11, 8, "carpe diem quam minimum credula postero."

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1280-1281: *Satires*, 2, 3, 314-320, the anecdote of the frog emulating the ox. (Cf. "Browning and Aesop"; cf. "Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration I, 13-14.)

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1441: *Odes*, 1, 3. (Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 1445-1446; "George Bubb Dodington," 234 and 277.)

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1445-1446, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1431.

*Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, 1626-1627, "Favonian Breeze" and "Auster's lead" are probably based on the familiar occurrence of these names of winds in Horace.

*A. A.* 393, under *R. & B. IX*, 1018-1019.

*A. A.* 461, under *R. & B. IX*, 1018-1019.

*A. A.* 977-980: *Satires*, 1, 4, 1-5, 'The poets Eupolis, and Cratinus, and Aristophanes, and others, who are authors of the ancient comedy, if there was any person deserving to be distinguished for being a rascal or a thief, an adulterer or a cut-throat, or in any shape an infamous fellow, branded him with great freedom.' (Cf. *A. A.* 1805-1808; 2920-2927; 3210-3215.)<sup>1</sup>

*A. A.* 1030, under *R. & B. IX*, 1018-1019.

*A. A.* 1298-1301: *Satires*, 1, 10, 7-8, 'it is by no means sufficient to make an auditor grin with laughter.'

<sup>1</sup> The four passages from *A. A.* here cited form a group the direct suggestion for which must come — and may come solely — from the *Prolegomena de Comoedia* (see "Browning and Aristophanes," under *A. A.* 968-982, for references). But the term "thief" has a more definite similarity to Horace than to the *Prolegomena*, and the rebuke to the adulterer is less clearly suggested by the *Prolegomena* than by Horace. There is no mention in the *Prolegomena* of fops or fribbles (*A. A.* 3214-3215), nor any general phrase like Horace's 'in any shape an infamous fellow' to suggest it. Browning doubtless knew these lines in Horace, and encountered them quoted in connection with ancient comedy in Meineke's *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum* (vol. I of his edition of the *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, p. 271). At any rate, though certainty of the point is not quite possible, the lines of Horace appear to have formed an integral part of Browning's information on the topic involved.

- A. A. 1805-1808, under A. A. 977-980.
- A. A. 2080, "Zeus nods," may be connected with the line quoted under *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2080-2081, with "Zeus" instead of "Homer."
- A. A. 2341-2346: *Satires*, 1, 8, 1-7, 'Formerly I was the trunk of a wild fig-tree, an useless log: when an artificer, in doubt whether he should make a stool or a Priapus of me, determined that I should be a god. Henceforward I became a god, the greatest terror of thieves and birds: for my right hand restrains thieves, and a bloody-looking pole stretched out from my frightful middle: but a reed fixed upon the crown of my head terrifies the mischievous birds, and hinders them from settling in these new gardens.'
- A. A. 2648: *Epistles*, 2, 1, 153-155, 'Through fear of the bastinado, they (comic poets) were reduced to the necessity of changing their manner, and of praising and delighting.' (Cf. A. A. 3219.)
- A. A. 2719-2732, under B. A. 194-195.
- A. A. 2798, under R. & B. IX, 1018-1019.
- A. A. 2920-2927, under A. A. 977-980.
- A. A. 2990-2991, under R. & B. IX, 1018-1019.
- A. A. 3091-3093, under R. & B. IX, 1018-1019.
- A. A. 3210-3215, under A. A. 977-980.
- A. A. 3219, under A. A. 2648.
- The Inn Album*, 3017-3018: *Ars Poetica*, 185, "Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet."
- "Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 294-295: *Odes*, 2, 1, 7.
- The Two Poets of Croisic*, 593, "*irritabilis gens*": *Epistles*, 2, 2, 102, "*genus irritabile vatum*."
- "Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration I, 13-14, under *Fifne at the Fair*, 1280-1281.
- "On Singers": *Satires*, 1, 3, 1-3. The poem is a translation. It was first published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1883, and may be found on p. 1336 of the Macmillan one-volume edition of Browning's works. It runs as follows:

All singers, trust me, have this common vice,  
 To sing 'mid friends you'll have to ask them twice.  
 If you don't ask them 't is another thing,  
 Until the judgment-day be sure they'll sing.

- "Christopher Smart,"<sup>1</sup> 22-23, "the Golden Mean," under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137.
- "George Bubb Dodington," 234, "*aes triplex*," under *Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1441.
- "George Bubb Dodington," 277, "triply cased in brass," under *Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1441.
- "Fust and his Friends," 368-369: *Epistles*, 1, 6, 67-68, "Si quid novisti rectius istis Candidus imperti."
- "White Witchcraft," under *R. & B.* II, 1270.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 8-10: *Epistles*, 1, 16, 27-29, quotes a bit from the panegyric on Augustus by Lucius Varius Rufus — if we accept the scholiast's statement as to the authorship.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 11-12: *Satires*, 1, 10, 43-44, "forte epos acer Ut nemo Varius ducit."
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 15, "thou offshoot of Etruscan kings": *Odes*, 1, 1, 1, "Maecenas atavis editae regibus."
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 17: *Satires*, 1, 3, 137, mentions the quadrans as the customary price of a bath in Rome. "In the vestibule of the public baths of Pompeii was found a box, stated by Sir W. Gell to have been for receiving the bathers' fee." (Comment *ad loc.* by the Rev. A. J. Maclean, in his edition of the works of Horace, London, 1853.) From some such annotation may have come the suggestion for the "vestibule" in line 5 of Browning's poem, and for the idea here of paying on departure from the baths. (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal.")
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 72, mentions Horace.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 73, mentions "Varius" (i.e., Lucius Varius Rufus). See under *ibid.* 11-12 and 8-10, above.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 90, "the vulgar nameless crowd," under *A Soul's Tragedy*, Act II, 532.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 104-105: *Epodes*, 5, 57-58, 'let the dogs of Suburra (which may be matter of ridicule for everybody) bark at the aged profligate, bedaubed with ointment.'

<sup>1</sup> This poem is given the name of the famous translator of Horace, from whose version the translations used in this section are quoted. See line 181 of the poem.

## BROWNING AND IAMBlichus

*Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, 544-545, "a shaft should shine, Bear me along, another Abaris": *Life of Pythagoras (De Vita Pythagorica)*, ch. 19, 'he (Abaris) gave Pythagoras a dart which he took with him when he left the temple (among the Hyperboreans), as a thing that would be useful to him in the difficulties that would befall him in so long a journey. For he was carried by it, in passing through inaccessible places,' etc. (Thomas Taylor's translation, London, 1818.) In Herodotus, 4, 36, Abaris carries the arrow through the world without eating, but is not borne by it.

## BROWNING AND JUVENAL

- R. & B. V, 811, "Locusta's wile": *Satires*, 1, 71, mentions Locusta as skilful in poisoning. (Cf. "Browning and Suetonius" and "Browning and Tacitus.")
- R. & B. X, 1698, "'Know thyself'": *Satires*, 11, 27, "'Know thyself" came down from heaven.' Mr. A. K. Cook, in his Commentary upon *The Ring and the Book*, p. 277, mentions this analogy to Juvenal; but the adage is thrice familiar, and appears in so many Greek sources that it is unsafe to connect it with any specific one. (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")
- "Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 161-164, refers to Juvenal's attacks on women.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est — " 17: *Satires*, 6, 447, "quadrante lavari." (Cf. "Browning and Horace.")

## BROWNING AND LIVY

- Sordello*, VI, 455, "Brutus in the presence": Livy, 1, 56, where L. Junius Brutus feigns idiocy or madness before Tarquin.
- Pippa Passes*, III, 6, "'Lucius Junius'": Livy, 1, 56-60; 2, 1-6, recount the patriotic career of Brutus.
- R. & B. IV, 887, "Lucretia" (the name represents chastity, in the context): Livy, 1, 58, is the *locus classicus* for the story of the rape of Lucretia. (Cf. R. & B. VIII, 1681-1687; IX, 177-180.)
- R. & B. VIII, 1681-1687, under R. & B. IV, 887.
- R. & B. VIII, 1688-1703: Livy, 3, 48.

- R. & B. IX, 177-180: Livy, 1, 58, Tarquin threatens Lucretia with dishonor if she refuses him: 'he says that he will lay a murdered slave naked by her side when dead, so that she may be said to have been slain in infamous adultery.' (Cf. R. & B. IV, 887.) Collatinus was the husband of Lucretia, mentioned in Livy, 1, 57-58, in connection with the other details used by Browning.
- R. & B. IX, 760-764: Livy, 25, 31.
- R. & B. IX, 893, "Thalassian-pure": Livy, 1, 9 (in the account of the rape of the Sabine women) 'They say that one, far distinguished beyond the others for stature and beauty, was carried off by the party of one Thalassius, and while many inquired to whom they were carrying her, they cried out every now and then, in order that no one might molest her, that she was being taken to Thalassius; that from this circumstance this term became a nuptial one.'
- R. & B. IX, 998, "anti-Fabius": Livy, 22, 11-17, where the cautious methods of conducting the war against Hannibal are recounted. The full name of this Fabius was Quintus Fabius Maximus Verucosus.
- R. & B. IX, 1494: Livy, 8, 8, explains that the Triarii were the experienced soldiers at the rear in a battle. 'Hence, when a difficulty is felt, "Matters have come to the Triarii," became a usual proverb.' (Cf. "George Bubb Dodington," 327.)
- R. & B. XII, 813-815, attributes to Livy the statement that Arezzo was founded by Janus of the Double Face (Janus Bifrons). Livy mentions various instances in which the conduct of the Aretines during the Second Punic War was treacherous (e.g., in 27, 21; 27, 24).
- Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 1558: Livy, 5, 36-49, the account of the capture of Rome by the Gauls under Brennus, and the final defeat of the Gauls.
- "George Bubb Dodington," 327, under R. & B. IX, 1494.

BROWNING AND LONGUS

"Saul," 37-41, is associated by Mr. G. W. Cooke (Riverside Edition of Browning, II, 410) with the piping of Daphnis to his goats and other animals in *Daphnis and Chloe* (see 4, 15). The analogy seems extremely doubtful, because the incident in Saul is not one of those



in the piping of Daphnis, and because the incident in Browning might easily have been originated independently by the poet.

## BROWNING AND LUCIAN

- Pippa Passes*, II, 366-373: *Dialogi Mortuorum*, XXII, 423-425.<sup>1</sup>
- B. A. 50: *Zeuxis*, 3, 841 (a ship is lost off Malea). (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron.")
- B. A. 185, "Out with our Sacred Anchor": *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 698-699, 'the sheet anchor (ἱερὰν ἀγκυραν), which with all your might and skill you will never be able to stir'; *Fugitivi*, 13, 372, τὴν ὑστάτην ἀγκυραν, ἣν ἱερὰν οἱ ναυτιλλόμενοι φασι.
- Fifine at the Fair*, 1147, "some Thalassia saves": *Dialogi Marini* XI, 316-318, where Xanthus asks Thalassa to save him.
- A. A. 78-84: *Anacharsis*, 20, 900, where a city is taken not as its erections, such as ramparts, but as its citizens — the soul of a city as distinct from its body. (Cf. A. A. 94; and cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")
- A. A. 94, under A. A. 78-84.
- A. A. 106, "Olympian": *Imagines*, 17, 476, where Pericles is referred to as Olympius. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch"; and cf. A. A. 2014.)
- A. A. 114: *Anacharsis*, 17, 896, where Solon speaks of going straight to the Pnyx and mounting the pulpit and addressing the Athenians.
- A. A. 132-137: *Deorum Concilium*, 10, 533 (Momus is speaking) . . . 'but you, Aegyptian dog's-face, with the linen wrapper about you, who are you, and how came you to think that you may bark among the gods? . . . I should blush to mention the storks and apes and goats, and the other still more preposterous deities from Aegypt, which I know not how have been foisted into heaven,' etc. *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 42, 690, states that some Egyptians confer the honor of being gods on 'the Crocodile, the Cynocephalus, the Cat, or the Ape.' The cynocephali were a species of ape frequent in Egypt, with heads similar to those of dogs. *Toxaris*, 28, 537, men-

<sup>1</sup> References to Lucian are ordinarily to the chapters and marginal page numbers (from Reitz) of the text of Carolus Jacobitz's edition (three volumes, Leipzig, 1896). In such cases as this the number of the dialogue is given, and the page numbers.

tions 'a pair of silver cynocephali' as stolen from a temple. If Browning's "dog-ape" were Anubis, Lucian might furnish abundant references in point; e.g., *Vitarum Aucto*, 16, 556; *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 9, 652. Allusions to Momus, in which he is represented as finding fault with the gods and their inventions, and otherwise censorious, appear in *Deorum Concilium*, 2, 528; *Nigrinus*, 32, 74; *Dialogi Deorum XX*, 2, 254; *Quomodo historia conscribenda*, 34, 44; *Verae Historiae II*, 3, 106; *Hermotimus*, 20, 758-759; *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 19, 664; 23, 668; and ('carping at all men do') *Icaromenippus*, 31, 788. In the *Deorum Concilium* and the *Juppiter Tragoedus*, Momus, taking part as censor of the gods, represents Lucian himself — a circumstance which may have suggested to Browning the thought of a critic apotheosized.

- A. A. 403: *Verae Historiae I*, 16, 83, 'Behind them stood the stalky mushrooms, heavy armed infantry, ten thousand in number, having their name from their bearing a kind of fungus for their shield, and using the stalks of large asparagus for spears.' (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")
- A. A. 491, "Alkamenes": *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 7, 650; 7, 651; *Imagines*, 3, 461; 6, 464; *Quomodo historia conscribenda*, 51, 62; *Hermotimus*, 19, 757 — all mention Alcamenes as among the most eminent sculptors, along with Phidias, Praxiteles, and others. His statue of Venus is particularly praised for its 'cheek-bones and prominent parts of its full face' in *Imagines*, 6, 464. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")
- A. A. 644, "Melittion": *Dialogi Meretricii IV*. The dialogue is between Melissa and Bacchis.
- A. A. 806: *Pro Imaginibus*, 12, 491, contains a full and careful expression of the very commonplace idea that a proper distance is necessary to critical contemplation.
- A. A. 1113-1115: *Prometheus*, 4, 188; but the idea is familiar. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plato.")
- A. A. 1321-1328 may be associated with *Hermotimus* 5, 744-745, in which the persevering on the journey of life reach the summit, and look down upon the rest of mankind as so many pismires. Lycinus answers Hermotimus that 'to make us crawl about upon the bare skin of mother earth, is indeed too bad!' But to the most casual

reader of these lines in the *Apology* there appear reminiscences of Keats's "On first looking into Chapman's Homer" (i.e., "tremble somewhat into ken" as compared with Keats's "swims into his ken") and of Christian's path. (Cf. *A. A.* 1343-1344, of equally uncertain relationship to the answer of Lycinus, but interestingly parallel in substance.)

*A. A.* 1343-1344, under *A. A.* 1321-1328, above.

*A. A.* 1752: *Piscator*, 25, 595-596 (Diogenes is the speaker), 'But, after all, those comic writers took that liberty with only one individual (i.e. Socrates) and that at the Dionysia, where such farcical entertainments are tolerated, as appendages to the festival, and Bacchus being a laughter-loving god, perhaps might be pleased with them.' (Cf. *A. A.* 2355-2360; 2589-2597; 2769-2777.)

*A. A.* 1960, "country-flavored": *Dialogi Meretricii VII*, 3, 298, 'he is indeed but a country lad, and smells not of the best.'

*A. A.* 1981-1988: *Piscator*, 30, 598 . . . 'those your ancient favorites, whom I considered as the legislators of the best mode of living, who stretched out their hands to all who pursue that object, by inculcating the choicest and most salutary instructions into the minds of all,' . . .

*A. A.* 2014, under *A. A.* 106.

*A. A.* 2029-2056 (also 2072-2073; 2080-2107): *Icaromenippus*, 5, 756, 'I accordingly looked about for the principal among them (the sophists); that is, for such as were distinguished by the gloomiest countenance, the shallowest complexion, and the dirtiest beard; it cannot otherwise be, thought I, than that men who in speech and appearance differ so much from the common dwellers upon earth, must understand more than other people of the affairs of heaven.' *de Parasito*, 50, 874, 'and it is worth while to see how he (the dead parasite) differs from the dry, smutty, goat-bearded carcase of the miserable churl the dead philosopher, whose soul has evacuated his body from fear before the battle began. . . such shallow, uncombed, and squalid, puny creatures.' . . . *Bis Accusatus*, 11, 803, 'What do you call philosophers! Those down-looking, sour-faced fellows, with the long goat-beards like mine, who are so fond of hearing themselves talk?' *Icaromenippus*, 6, 757-758, 'How ridiculous

would it appear to you, my friend, if you had heard their arrogance and vaunting sermocinations; if you had heard how these people, who after all walk upon the earth like the rest of us, and instead of being more sharp-sighted than ourselves, nay, some of them either through age or laziness are decrepit and purblind, nevertheless profess to see beyond the boundaries of heaven, to measure the sun, to expatiate upon objects above the moon, and precisely as if they had dropped from the stars, compose a dissertation on their bulk and fashion, . . . and presume to say how many yards the moon is distant from the sun, though they frequently do not know how many stadia you have to go from Megara to Athens.' *Bis Accusatus*, 15, 810, 'The Academy is always ready to speak on both sides, *pro* and *con*, and professes to make it equally clear that a thing is black and that it is white. She (Drunkenness) can therefore, she says, first plead for me, and afterward for herself.' *Bis Accusatus*, 19-23, 814-822 (the causes of Stoa *vs.* Pleasure for stealing Dionysius, and of Pleasure *vs.* Virtue touching Aristippus). *Vitarum Auctio*, 8, 548 (Diogenes is the speaker) 'I live, like Hercules, in perpetual war with pleasure.' *Dialogi Deorum*, II, 1, 206 (Zeus complains against Cupid) 'I . . . must turn myself into a satyr, into a bull, into an eagle, and into a golden shower, if I would come at them (mortal women).' *Bis Accusatus*, 13, 807; 15-18, 809-814 (the cause of Drunkenness *vs.* the Academy for stealing Polemon). *Dialogi Mortuorum* (numerous "Charon's companies," including many philosophers and sophists; cf. *Pippa Passes*, II, 366-373). *Icaromenippus*, 29-33, 786-789, where Zeus attacks the philosophers in terms similar to those in some of the passages quoted above. Among his remarks are these: 'Now these are the men who . . . babble insipid stuff respecting the gods, and cant about their far-famed virtue in a tone of tragical declamation to a crowd of simple credulous youths, and teach them the vile art of confounding the common sense of mankind by captious sophistries'; and 'they (the Epicureans) touch us to the quick by affirming that we are careless of human affairs, and have nothing to do with the events of the world.' When Zeus ended his speech, 'the whole assembly with one voice cried out: Blast them! Burn them! Exterminate them!' etc. *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 37, 684-685 (Damis is the speaker), 'How

should they (the gods) have leisure to think about me, having such an endless multiplicity of affairs to mind; for you say the concerns of the whole world, which are certainly very numerous and intricate, lie upon their shoulders. They have however, I suppose for that very reason, left you yourself unpunished for your many perjuries and other offences which I forbear to particularize,' etc. (For various details among the passages in *A. A.* under consideration, see "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Athenaeus," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," "Browning and Philostratus," "Browning and Plato," "Browning and Plutarch," and "Browning and Xenophon.")<sup>1</sup>

*A. A.* 2062-2071: *Icaromenippus*, 32, 788-789, 'They touch us (the gods) to the quick, by affirming that we are careless of human affairs, and have nothing to do in the events of the world.' *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 36-38, 684-685 (Damis and Timocles debate about the existence of the gods. Damis denies that they exist, or care about mortals, and sets up necessity as the law of nature, in opposition to the idea of divine arrangement). *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 41, 689, 'As to Euripides, whenever the fable he is at work upon leaves him free scope to speak his own convictions, do you not hear him say bluntly and without disguise,

Seest thou on high the aether's boundless space,  
The earth beneath it in its warm embrace;  
Think this is Zeus, acknowledge this as god?<sup>2</sup>

and in another place:

O Zeus! — if any Zeus there be —  
For I, I know him only by the name;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this group of passages we have an instance of how Browning, writing from memory, could settle on a topic suggested by Aristophanes's comedies, fit it into the framework of the *Apology*, and fill in the details with confections and minglings of whatever impressive humanistic illustrative matter came foremost in the welter of his memory and fancy, having ancient authority for everything he desired. To make Aristophanes discuss the sophists, and to depend on memory alone for the materials, is a task which hardly another English poet than Browning would have been confident enough to attempt.

<sup>2</sup> Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, *Incert.* 941.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Euripides, *Melanippe*, 480.

and more of the like nature?' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," "Browning and Euripides," and "Browning and Plato.")

A. A. 2072-2073, under A. A. 2029-2056.

A. A. 2080-2107, under A. A. 2029-2056.

A. A. 2144-2145 (also 2150-2151): *Bis Accusatus*, 20, 815, 'whether it is better with downcast looks to wallow in sensual pleasure like swine, . . . or generously, as becomes free men, to philosophize, to postpone the agreeable to what is fair and just, and neither to fear pain as some unsubduable monster, nor with a slavish disposition to prize the agreeable above everything, and to place the sovereign felicity in honey and figs.' (On "Saperdion," see "Browning and Athenaeus.")

A. A. 2150-2151, under A. A. 2144-2145.

A. A. 2238-2241: *Somnium*, 11, 718-719, . . . 'Thesmopolis annoyed me with his clack about heaven knows what, of virtue, and indoctrinating me, that two negatives make an affirmative, and that I know not by what arguments it may be proved, that when it is day it cannot be night. He even proved to me that I had horns,<sup>1</sup> and continued prating in this manner, as if he would force me to be a philosopher whether I would or not.' . . . (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 2355-2360, under A. A. 1752.

A. A. 2589-2597, under A. A. 1752.

A. A. 2643-2644: *Longaevi*, 24, 226-227, 'A few years before his (Sophocles's) death, when his son Iophon wanted to dispossess him of his property by law, alleging that he was become childish with

<sup>1</sup> William Tooke's footnote (in his translation of Lucian, two volumes, London, 1820) reads: "The pedants of the stoic sect, especially at that time, vaunted much of their subtilty in dialectics and syllogistics. Amongst other of their sophisms, with which they took delight in puzzling the illiterate, was the captious proposition which they called the *horned*. — 'What you have not lost, Micyllus, that you have still,' says Thesmopolis. — Certainly, replies Micyllus. — You have not lost horns. — No. — Therefore you have horns, answers the learned gentleman, bursting into a loud laugh at having thus pozed the honest cobbler." This footnote seems a more direct suggestion for the passage in the *Apology* than the text of Lucian. There are various other indications than this that perhaps Browning had read Tooke's Lucian.

age, he contented himself with rehearsing before his judges his Oedipus upon the Hill, that he had recently composed: which had such an effect upon them that they dismissed him with marks of the highest admiration; but unanimously pronounced the son to be out of his senses.' (Cf. *A. A.* 3500-3512; cf. also "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Sophocles.") The idea of the single son sharing the property appears to come from Lucian rather than from Plutarch or the *Vita* of Sophocles.

*A. A.* 2769-2777, under *A. A.* 1752.

*A. A.* 2848-2893: *Anacharsis*, 34-36, 914-917, where Solon explains to Anacharsis the Scythian that the Athenians do not wear arms or carry swords in time of peace, and even have a law against doing so; and that to appear naked at the public games is a great honor, and an incentive to the cultivation of fine bodies. (Cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")

*A. A.* 3500-3512, under *A. A.* 2643-2644.

*A. A.* 5491-5493: *De morte Peregrini*, 30, 351-352, where Lucian's anonymus opposes to Peregrinus's forged oracle of the Sibyl an extemporary one of Bakis. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch.")

"Pheidippides," the motto, and 105-120: *pro lapsu inter salutandum*, 3, 727-728, 'The point of time when the use of the formulary of *chaire* or *chairete* began to be more restricted, is marked by an anecdote of the runner Pheidippides, who announced the victory at Marathon to the assembled archons, who were under great apprehension about the event of the fight, in these words: Rejoice! We are victorious! (*χαίρετε, νικῶμεν*). And no sooner had he uttered them than he fell down dead, and thus his last breath was spent in delivering these joyful tidings.' (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

#### BROWNING AND LUCRETIUS

"Gold Hair," 86-87: *De Rerum Natura*, 2, 14 *sqq.*, "o miseras hominum mentis, o pectora caeca!" etc.

*R. & B. V.*, 1365, "*merum sal!*": *De Rerum Natura*, 4, 1162.

*A. A.* 28: *De Rerum Natura*, 3, 842, "non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo."

BROWNING AND MARTIAL

R. & B. XII, 745-746: *Epigrams*, 4, 89, 2.

BROWNING AND MOSCHUS

R. & B. IX, 529-536: *Idyls*, 1, 1-5.

"Gerard de Lairesse," 283-307: *Idyls*, 5, 1-6, 'Pan loved his neighbor Echo; Echo loved a frisking Satyr; and Satyr he was head over ears for Lyde. As Echo was Pan's flame, so was Satyr Echo's, and Lyde master Satyr's. 'T was love reciprocal; for by just course, even as each of those hearts did scorn its lover, so was it also scorned being such a lover itself.'

BROWNING AND OVID

*Pauline*, 321-322, "a god Wandering after beauty": *Metamorphoses*, 1, 452-567 (especially 490-556), Apollo pursuing Daphne. (Cf. *Paracelsus*, II, 423-424; *Sordello*, I, 937-938; 961-962.)

*Pauline*, 322-323, "a giant Standing vast in the sunset": *Metamorphoses*, 4, 631-662, the story of Atlas changed to a mountain.

*Pauline*, 572-573: *Metamorphoses*, 3, 131-252, the story of Actaeon torn by the dogs.

*Pauline*, 656-667: *Metamorphoses*, 4, 663-739, the story of Perseus and Andromeda. (Cf. *Sordello*, II, 211; R. & B. VII, 390-393; "Francis Furini," 141-143, 489-501, 529.)

*Paracelsus*, II, 423-424, "no nymph," etc., under *Pauline*, 321-322. Daphne was changed to a laurel tree. In *Metamorphoses*, 9, 324-393, Dryope is changed to a lotus-tree.

*Paracelsus*, II, 425: *Metamorphoses*, 8, 176-178, Ariadne changed to a star.

*Paracelsus*, V, 123-125: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 151-162, Jove and the Titans. (Cf. A. A. 1682; "Francis Furini," 146-147; and cf. "Browning and Virgil.")

*Paracelsus*, V, 126-128: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 748 to 2, 339, the story of Phaëthon. (Cf. "A Death in the Desert," 392-393; "Gerard de Lairesse," 71-80.)

*Sordello*, I, 937-938, "divine Apollo's choice, His Daphne," under *Pauline*, 321-322.



*Sordello*, I, 961-962, under *Pauline*, 321-322.

*Sordello*, II, 177-180: *Fasti*, 2, 559-560, 'And let not the curved spear part thy virgin ringlets, maiden, who appearest to thy mother already of marriageable years.' (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

*Sordello*, II, 211, under *Pauline*, 656-667.

*Sordello*, VI, 140, "Cydispe": the name may have been suggested by the *Heroides*, *Epistola XXI*, Cydispe to Acontius.

"Artemis Prologizes": "According to one form of the legend (narrated briefly by Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7, 765-777, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15, 530-546), Hippolytus, having been killed by Phaedra's treachery and Theseus's wrath, was brought back to life by Asclepius, but was transported by Artemis to Italy (where he fell in love with the nymph Aricia, from whom the place Aricia received its name), under the name of Virbius." (Sir F. G. Kenyon, in the *Centenary Edition*, IV, xii-xiii.)

*A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, Act II, 176-177, mentions Ovid, and refers to the *Metamorphoses*.

"The Glove," 12, mentions "Naso." Though lines 13-14 are apparently a quotation from Ovid, the words have not been found in that source.

"Old Pictures in Florence," 101, may be associated with *Metamorphoses*, 1, 438-451. (Cf. *The Two Poets of Croisic*, 966-967.) The story of Apollo and the Python is, however, a very common one.

"A Death in the Desert," 392-393, may by a stretch of probability be associated with the passage referred to under *Paracelsus*, V, 126-128.

R. & B. I, 1157, mentions "Ovidian quip."

R. & B. II, 1221-1222: in the *Tristia*, 2, 1, 103, and 3, 5, 49, Ovid states that he has been exiled because he was the unintentional witness of something which Augustus resented his having seen. It has been supposed, on no definite grounds, that he had seen some misconduct of a female relative of the Emperor's. In *Tristia*, 4, 10, 59-60, Ovid states that in his youth he wrote poems about Corinna, who inspired the town. The official reason for his exile was that he had by his poetry encouraged adultery. Corinna appears in *Amores* (e.g., 1, 5, 9-26) as a paramour of the poet's. Some have suspected that this Corinna (a fictitious name) was a daughter or granddaughter of

- the Emperor's. The matter is uncertain. (Cf. *R. & B. V*, 1357-1359.) That the "primrose-patch" of line 1222 is a metaphor for poetic composition is evidenced by Ovid's expression of regret, in the *Pontic Epistles*, 1, 8, that he cannot in Tomi water his gardens, tend his orchards, sow, or tend his herds as he did when he lived in Rome. The line is perhaps based on *Pontic Epistles*, 1, 5, 29-34, 'Dost thou, then, wonder why I write? I wonder as well; and I often ask myself, what I shall get by it. Does the multitude say truly, that poets are insane; and am I the greatest illustration of this saying? I, who, when I have been so often deceived in a barren soil, persist in sowing my seed in unproductive ground.' (Cf. *Pontic Epistles*, 1, 5, 53-58.)
- R. & B. V*, 1357-1359: "Ovid's art" refers to the *Ars Amatoria*; "Corinna" is instructed in eluding her guardian in *Amores*, 3, 1, 49-52 (cf. 1, 5, 9-26).
- R. & B. V*, 1451, may be associated with some such passage as *Tristia*, 4, 10, 115-132, or those from the *Pontic Epistles* mentioned under *R. & B. II*, 1221-1222.
- R. & B. VII*, 390-393, under *Pauline*, 656-667.
- R. & B. VIII*, 141-142, may be associated with *Metamorphoses*, 5, 549-550, where the owl is called a bird of ill omen.
- R. & B. VIII*, 972-973: *Tristia*, 4, 10, 15-26, where Ovid explains that his writing of poetry interfered with his youthful studies.
- R. & B. VIII*, 1626: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 140.
- R. & B. IX*, 340: *Tristia*, 5, 8, 18.
- R. & B. IX*, 577-580: *Metamorphoses*, 8, 183-235, the story of Daedalus and Icarus.
- R. & B. IX*, 968-978, may be associated with *Metamorphoses*, 11, 211-215, the story of Hesione.
- R. & B. IX*, 1362-1366: *Fasti*, 5, 241-242.
- R. & B. XI*, 2050-2053: "*Byblis in fluvium*" comes from *Metamorphoses*, 9, 663-665, though the word in the original is *fontem*; Lycaon is changed to a wolf in *Metamorphoses*, 1, 232-239.
- A. A.* 1682, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123-125. But the story of the war with the Titans is familiar myth.
- "The Two Poets of Croisic," 966-967, under "Old Pictures in Florence," 101.

- "Francis Furini," 141-143, under *Pauline*, 656-657.  
 "Francis Furini," 146-147, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123-125.  
 "Francis Furini," 489-501, under *Pauline*, 656-667.  
 "Francis Furini," 529, under *Pauline*, 656-667.  
 "Gerard de Lairese," 71-80, under *Paracelsus*, V, 126-128.  
 "Gerard de Lairese," 120-125: *Metamorphoses*, 9, 324-393, especially 340-345, where Dryope plucks the lotus, and it bleeds.  
 "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 154-156: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 32-114. The "predecessor" is probably "quisquis fuit ille deorum" of line 32.

## BROWNING AND PAUSANIAS

- "Cleon," 53-54, may be associated with Pausanias, 1, 15, the description of the Stoa Poecilé at Athens.  
*B. A.* 337-338: Pausanias, 1, 20, mentions a 'most ancient' temple of Bacchus 'at the theatre.' It was between the theatre and the Ilyssus, as Browning has it. (Cf. *B. A.* 348-350; *A. A.* 199-202; and cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")  
*B. A.* 348-350, under *B. A.* 337-338.  
*B. A.* 2696-2697: Pausanias, 1, 15, gives a detailed account of the paintings in the Stoa Poicilé, in one of which was represented Echelus, the hero of Browning's later poem.  
*A. A.* 112-113: Pausanias, 1, 28, 'As you descend, not into the lower parts of the city but only below the Propylaea.' . . .  
*A. A.* 199-202, under *B. A.* 337-338.  
*A. A.* 488-492: Pausanias, 1, 21, mentions a statue of Euripides in the theatre at Athens, and refers to Sophocles, after his death, as 'the new Siren,' in a passage concerning paying honors to the dead dramatist; Pausanias, 1, 2, mentions a cenotaph of Euripides along the way up from the Piraeus; Pausanias, 5, 10, mentions Alcamenes as 'a contemporary of Phidias and second only to him as statuary.' For other mentions of Alcamenes, see Pausanias, 1, 8; 1, 19; 1, 20; 1, 24; 2, 30; 8, 9; 9, 11. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus," "Browning and Euripides," "Browning and Lucian," and "Browning and Sophocles.")  
*A. A.* 1053-1054, "Stagbeetle, huge Taügetan (you guess — Sparté): Pausanias, 3, 20, 'And as you go on thence on the road to Taygetus.

- . . . At Alesia there is a hero-chapel to Lacedaemon the son of Taygete. (There follow several mentions of Mount Taygetus.) (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Aristophanes," and "Browning and Philostratus.")
- A. A. 1444: Pausanias, 6, 20; 9, 5; 9, 17, — all provide stories of Amphion's moving stones by his music. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.")
- A. A. 5200: Pausanias, 4, 33, 'the river Balura. It was so called, they say, because Thamyris threw (*ἀποβαλόντος*) his lyre away there in his blindness.' (Cf. A. A. 5261-5262.) In this chapter Pausanias mentions also Homer's account of the story of Thamyris.
- A. A. 5247-5250: Pausanias, 9, 30, mentions in the temple at Helicon, statues of the muses, of poets, and of 'others notable for music, as blind Thamyris handling a broken lyre,' Arion, Hesiod, and Orpheus. (Cf. A. A. 5270-5271.) Pausanias, 10, 30 (the account of the paintings in the Lounge at Delphi), 'And Thamyris sitting near Pelias is blind and dejected in mien, with thick hair and beard, his lyre broken and the strings torn asunder. (Cf. "Browning and Sophocles," under A. A. 5163-5173.)
- A. A. 5260: Pausanias, 4, 33, 'Thamyris the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope. Argiope, they say, lived at Parnassus for a while, but when she became pregnant moved to Odrysae, because Philammon would not marry her. And this is the reason why they call Thamyris Odrysian and Thracian.'
- A. A. 5261-5262, under A. A. 5200.
- A. A. 5270-5271, under A. A. 5247-5250.
- "Pheidippides," 1-88: Pausanias, 1, 28; 8, 54. But Herodotus provides everything that appears in these two passages in Pausanias, so far as Browning's poem is concerned.<sup>1</sup> (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.")

<sup>1</sup> Browning changed 'Parthenium,' mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias as the place where Pheidippides met Pan, to 'Parnes,' to have an Attic hill instead of a Laconian. He may have felt the more justified in doing so because of Pausanias, 1, 32, 'And at a little distance from the plain of Marathon is a mountain of Pan, and a cave well worth seeing. The entrance to it is narrow, but when you get well in there are rooms and baths, and what is called Pan's herd of goats, rocks very like goats in shape.' For the contention that Browning erred through carelessness, see Professor Cunliffe's "Browning and the Marathon Race," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 24, 156.

"Echetlos": Pausanias, 1, 32, 'And there is apart a monument to Miltiades the son of Cimon, whose death occurred afterwards, when he failed to capture Paros, and was on that account put on his trial by the Athenians. . . . And it chanced, as they say, in the battle that a man of rustic appearance and dress appeared, who slew many of the Persians with a ploughshare, and vanished after the fight: and when the Athenians made enquiry of the oracle, the god gave no other answer, but bade them honor the hero Echetlus.' Pausanias, 1, 15, 'And of the combatants there stand out most plainly in the painting Callimachus, who was chosen by the Athenians as Polemarch, and Miltiades, one of the generals, and the hero who was called Echetlus,' . . . (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.")

"Aeschylus' Soliloquy," 84-90; 96; 126-134:

Oh the days  
 In which I sat upon Hymettus hill  
 Ilissus seeming louder: and the groves  
 Of blessed olives thinking of their use  
 A little tunicked child and felt my thoughts (?)  
 Rise past the golden bees against thy face  
 Great sun upon the sea. . . .  
 . . . There I sate a child . . .  
 And then it was revealed, it was revealed  
 That I should be a priest of the Unseen  
 And build a bridge of sounds across the straight  
 From Heaven to earth whence all the Gods might walk  
 Nor bend it with their soles (?)  
 And then I saw the Gods tread past me slow  
 From out the portals of the hungry dark  
 And each one as he past, breathed in my face  
 And made me greater —

Pausanias, 1, 21, 'And Aeschylus used to tell the story that when he was quite a lad, he slept in a field watching the grapes, and Dionysus appeared to him and bade him write tragedy: and when it was day, he wished to obey the god, and found it most easy work. This was his own account.'

Pausanias, 1, 32, 'And the mountains of Attica are Pentelicus, famous for its stonequarries, and Parnes, which affords good hunting of wild boars and bears, and Hymettus, which is the best place for bees next to the territory of the Alazones.' This second passage,

quoted for its mention of Hymettus and the bees, should hardly be regarded as a source for these details in the "Soliloquy"; it is, however, apposite.

# BROWNING AND PERSIUS

"The Glove," 189, "Venienti occurrere morbo!": *Persius*, 3, 64.

R. & B. VIII, 898-900: "A scholiast on Persius (1, 4) quotes from a lost translation of the *Iliad* by a certain Labeo: 'Crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos.'" (Mr. A. K. Cook's note, in his *Commentary upon THE RING AND THE BOOK*. The information may be found in Harper's Latin Dictionary, *s. v. pisinnus*.)

R. & B. IX, 453-456: Persius, *Choliambi*, 8-11, "quis expedit psittaco suum chaere / picasque docuit verba nostra conari? / magister artis ingenique largitor / venter, negatas artifex sequi voces." Between the first and the second of these lines a few manuscripts insert "corvos quis olim concavum salutare?" (A. K. Cook, *op. cit.*)

# BROWNING AND PHILOSTRATUS

A. A. 42-43, "our soul . . . its fleshly durance dim and low": *In Honor of Apollonius of Tyana*, 7, 26, p. 281, 'We men are prisoners in a gaol during the time which is called life. This soul of ours in bondage of perishable flesh has much to endure; she is at the mercy of all the conditions incident to humanity.' But the idea of the body imprisoning the soul is a commonplace — in modern literature. (Cf. A. A. 497-503; and cf. "Browning and Plato.")

A. A. 497-503, under A. A. 42-43.

A. A. 813: *Apollonius*, 5, 14, p. 174; 'Upon traveling to Catania, near Mount Etna, they heard the inhabitants express the belief that Typhon was imprisoned there, and that from him arises the fiery interior Typhoon which embraces Etna.' *Apollonius*, 5, 13, p. 174, 'Other commentators held that Typho, the many-headed, threatened a disturbance in Sicily.' (Cf. "Browning and Pindar.")

A. A. 1053-1054, "Stagbeetle, huge Täugetan (you guess — Sparté): *Apollonius*, 4, 31, p. 149, 'When, after crossing Taugetus, he saw Lacedaemon in full vigor and the institutions of Lycurgus thriving.' . . . (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Aristophanes," and "Browning and Pausanias.")

- A. A. 2105: *Apollonius*, 4, 25-26, the original of the story in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* on which Keats based *Lamia*. In *Apollonius*, the philosopher calls the bride at the wedding *Empousa*. In Burton and Keats the word does not appear. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 2608-2609, "a Karion, slave (Since there's no getting lower)": *Apollonius*, 3, 25, p. 103, 'If they arrive with a freight of Carians, and want to advertize their qualities, the best they can find to say of the slaves is that they do not steal.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

#### BROWNING AND PINDAR <sup>1</sup>

- R. & B. I, 490: *Olympian Odes*, 7, 34. (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")
- A. A. 35-36, "Helios' island-bride, Zeus' darling": *Olympian Odes*, 7, 14; 7, 54-74. (Cf. A. A. 652-655.)
- A. A. 652-655, under A. A. 35-36.
- A. A. 813: *Pythian Odes*, 1, 15-28, a description of the Typhon imprisoned under Aetna. (Cf. Browning and Philostratus.)
- A. A. 1924: *Pythian Odes*, 10, 36, 'and he (Apollo) laugheth as he looketh on the brute beasts in their rampant lewdness.'
- "Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 546-548: *Olympian Odes*, 1, 111-112, 'Howsoever, for myself, the Muse is keeping a shaft most mighty in strength.' It is interesting to note that Browning wrote this passage in Greek on the fly-leaf of his *Old Yellow Book* (the source of *The Ring and the Book*).
- "Epilogue" to the *Pachiarotto* volume, 61, mentions Pindar.
- A translation of the third epode of Pindar's Seventh Olympian was written by Browning in January, 1883, in a letter addressed (but never sent) to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. It was first published in *New Poems by Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, pp. 38-39, and later in the one-volume Macmillan edition of Browning, p. 1335. The original is found in lines 51-53, immediately preceding the passage cited under A. A. 35-36 and 652-655. Browning's version is as follows:

<sup>1</sup> References in this section are to the edition of Pindar by Sir John Sandys, in the Loeb Classical Library.

And to these Rhodians she, the sharp eyed one,  
 Gave the supremacy in every art, —  
 And, nobly-labouring play the craftsman's part  
 Beyond all dwellers underneath the sun.  
 So that the very ways by which ye pass  
 Bore sculpture, living things that walk or creep  
 Like as the life: whence very high and deep  
 Indeed the glory of the artist was.  
 For, in the well-instructed artist, skill,  
 However great, receives our greeting,  
 As something greater still,  
 When unaccompanied by cheating.

BROWNING AND PLATO

- Pauline*, 435-436, mentions Plato, with some familiarity.
- Pauline*, 588-600: *Phaedo*, 81-83; *Cratylus*, 400. (Cf. *Paracelsus*, I, 725-737; *A. A.* 42-43; 497-500; and cf. "Browning and Philostratus," on the body as the prison of the soul.)
- Paracelsus*, I, 392-396: *Laws*, 776b, 'handing on the torch of life from one generation to another.'
- Paracelsus*, I, 725-737, under *Pauline*, 588-600 (in connection with the notion of the body imprisoning the soul). The passage seems in general, Platonic.
- Paracelsus*, II, 633-635: *Symposium*, 189-193. (Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 679-694.)
- Sordello*, V, 60: *Republic*, 2-4, *passim*, deals with the functions and division of labor in the ideal state; *ibid.* 10, 596b-d, is a striking passage concerning the demiurge, or creative god.
- Pippa Passes*, II, 86, "human archetype," may be a reflection of the Platonic theory of the ideal original form (*Republic*, 6, 501b, etc.). (Cf. "Old Pictures in Florence," 85-88; *A. A.* 106-108.)
- "Easter-Day," 91-92: *Republic*, 7, 530a, etc. (Cf. *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 588.)
- "Old Pictures in Florence," 85-88, reflects the Platonic notion that artists should imitate only the good, the ideal. (See, for example, *Republic*, 10, 595-608.) (Cf. also *Pippa Passes*, II, 86.)
- R. & B.* VI, 961, seems, by its joining the names of Plato and the Cephissus, reminiscent of the walk of Phaedrus and Socrates along



the Ilissus (the other stream near Athens), in the *Phaedrus*, 229-230, a passage familiar to Browning and to Elizabeth Barrett,<sup>1</sup> and used by Browning, apparently, in *B. A.* 337; *A. A.* 199-204; and *A. A.* 3448-3449.

*R. & B. X*, 1289, "Remembered": *Phaedrus*, 249-251, the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις, familiar to English readers in Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality in Childhood."

*B. A.* 337,<sup>2</sup> under *R. & B. VI*, 961.

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 588, under "Easter-Day," 91-92.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 679-694, under *Paracelsus*, II, 633-635.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 736-746, may be associated with *Republic*, 3, 402.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2208-2209 and 2211-2212, seems Platonic. Cf. *Republic*, 10, 596-602.

*A. A.* (the general machinery of presentation): *Symposium* (the similar all-night discussion of tragedy and comedy, with Aristophanes participating).

*A. A.* 39-48: *Phaedrus*, 247-253 (cf. *Cratylus*, 400). (Cf. *A. A.* 50-58; 497-507; and cf. *Pauline*, 588-600.)

*A. A.* 50-58, under *A. A.* 39-48.

*A. A.* 106-108, under *Pippa Passes*, II, 86. The fancy in which Balaustion here indulges — that of a perfect Athens rebuilt in heaven — is very similar to the creation of the imaginary State in the *Republic*, 2, 369.

*A. A.* 199-204, under *R. & B. VI*, 961.

*A. A.* 497-507, under *A. A.* 39-48.

*A. A.* 1150-1151: *Republic*, 456, 458, 466, 540, where Plato treats of the functions of women as guardians in the ideal state, upon

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Browning, dated February 12, 1846, Elizabeth Barrett alludes familiarly to the style of Plato, comparing the lucidity of it to that of "the water that ran beside the beautiful plane-tree" — an obvious reference to this passage in the *Phaedrus*.

<sup>2</sup> It seems extremely likely that, just as Plato's *Symposium* furnished the idea of an all-night discussion of comedy and tragedy as the groundwork for Aristophanes' *Apology*, so the famous walk along the Ilissus, ending in Phaedrus reading to Socrates, suggested to Browning the advantage of such a setting for *Balaustion's Adventure*, with Balaustion reciting a whole play to her companions. (Cf. *A. A.* 199-204; 3448-3449.)

terms as nearly as possible equal to those upon which the men are to act; and *Laws*, 784, 794, where Plato proposes the control of marriages by a council of women. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

- A. A. 1208-1210: *Symposium*, 223, Socrates discoursing on the identity of the genius of comedy and that of tragedy to Aristophanes and Agathon, and proving that the true artist in tragedy is an artist in comedy also; and *Republic*, 606, Socrates explaining how the love of comedy may turn a man into a vulgar buffoon. (Cf. A. A. 1298-1302; 1353-1391; 1465-1500; 2281-2288; and cf. "Browning and Aristotle.")
- A. A. 1298-1302, under A. A. 1208-1210.
- A. A. 1353-1391, under A. A. 1208-1210. Other sources are *Phaedrus*, 249-250, and *Laws*, 816. (Cf. "Browning and Aristotle.")
- A. A. 1423, "necessity": *Republic*, 616; 617; *Laws*, 741; 818. (Cf. A. A. 2068; 2147; 3478-3479; and cf. "Browning and Euripides.")
- A. A. 1465-1500, under A. A. 1208-1210.
- A. A. 1559: *Theaetetus*, 143, and 209, allude to the flat nose of Socrates. (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")
- A. A. 2033-2035: *Protagoras*, 315-316, describes Prodicus as somewhat invalid. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")
- A. A. 2039-2044: *Theaetetus*, *passim* — Protagoras's acceptance of all opinions is mentioned particularly on pp. 178 and 179; his theory of truth on pp. 152, 161, 166, 167, 168, and 171, (cf. *Cratylus*, 391); and his theory of falsehood on p. 152 (cf. *Euthydemus*, 286). (Cf. "Browning and Diogenes Laertius" and "Browning and Lucian.")
- A. A. 2068, under A. A. 1423.
- A. A. 2074, "Pound hemlock": *Phaedo*, 116 sqq., the account of the death of Socrates through drinking hemlock. (Cf. A. A. 3103; 3200.)
- A. A. 2147, under A. A. 1423.
- A. A. 2248-2249, refers to the composition of the Socratic dialogues. (Cf. A. A. 3145-3146.) (On "Aristullos," see "Browning and Aristophanes," under A. A. 1150.)
- A. A. 2281-2288, under A. A. 1208-1210.
- A. A. 2443-2444: *Alcibiades I* and *II* may have suggested the possibility of Alcibiades as a worthy figure. (Cf. Alcibiades in the *Pro-*

- tagoras* and the *Symposium*; and cf. "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Thucydides.")
- A. A. 2455-2474, appears reminiscent of the *Republic*.
- A. A. 3103, "poisons him," under A. A. 2074.
- A. A. 3145-3146, under A. A. 2248-2249.
- A. A. 3200, "Wants hemlock!" under A. A. 2074.
- A. A. 3448-3449, under R. & B. VI, 961.
- A. A. 3478-3479, under A. A. 1423.
- "Pietro of Abano," 78-79: *Phaedo*, 84e-85b. (Cf. "Pietro of Abano," 255-256; "Imperante Augusto natus est — " 71.
- "Pietro of Abano," 181-184: "Plato's tractate" is perhaps the *Republic* or the *Laws*: "'the Fair and Good'" is the familiar phrase, *καλὸν καγαθόν* (e.g., in the *Apology*, 21d).
- "Pietro of Abano," 255-256, under "Pietro of Abano," 78-79.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est — " 71, under "Pietro of Abano," 78-79.

## BROWNING AND PLATO COMICUS

- A. A. 376-377: fragment 7 (Meineke's *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2, p. 626) of the *Eoprai* of Plato attacks the sibilance of Euripides.

BROWNING AND PLINY<sup>1</sup>

- Sordello*, II, 89-92: *Natural History*, 8, 71, mentions the 'cantharus' under the tongue of Apis. (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.")
- R. & B. V, 2009-2011: *Natural History*, 11, 19. (Cf. "Browning and Virgil.")
- R. & B. VII, 977-979: *Natural History*, 11, 18. (Cf. "Browning and Virgil.")
- "Francis Furini," 501-503, may refer to the story of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, in the *Natural History*, 35, 36. But the story of their contest in painting is thrice familiar.

<sup>1</sup> Despite the attempts to attribute to Pliny certain details of the spiders and the blue borage in "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish the Arab Physician," and despite also the few doubtful analogies cited in this section, it is fair to say that there is no convincing evidence that Browning drew any details of his poems from the *Natural History*. (See *Poet-Lore*, i, 518, referred to by G. W. Cook; in his *Browning Guide-Book*, p. 126.)

BROWNING AND PLUTARCH<sup>1</sup>

- Strafford*, Act I, Scene I, 200: *Tiberius Gracchus*, 20 and 21.  
*Sordello*, II, 177-180: *Quaestiones Romanae*, 87. (Cf. "Browning and Ovid.")  
*R. & B. I*, 221-222: *Solon*, 23, 1-2 (adulterers might be killed). (Cf. *R. & B. VIII*, 570-571.)  
*R. & B. I*, 222-223: *Romulus*, 22, 4 (a husband could put away a wife for adultery). (Cf. *R. & B. VIII*, 573.)  
*R. & B. II*, 1244: *Numa*, 10, 6.  
*R. & B. VI*, 2098-2103, draws a picture of a student reading Plutarch.  
*R. & B. VIII*, 570-571, under *R. & B. I*, 221-222. (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.")  
*R. & B. VIII*, 573, under *R. & B. I*, 222-223.  
*R. & B. IX*, 760-764: *Marcellus*, 19, 7-10.  
*R. & B. XI*, 1975-1976: *De Oraculorum Defectu*, 17, which narrates that "certain voyagers from Greece to Italy during the principate of Tiberius (it was afterwards said, on the very day of the Crucifixion) heard a voice from the Greek shore, bidding them to report that Pan was dead."<sup>2</sup>  
*R. & B. XI*, 2410-2411: *Themistocles*, 31, 4-5. (Cf. *A. A.* 2074, "pour bull's blood." Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")  
*B. A.* 6-8: *Alcibiades*, 18, 1; *Nicias*, 12; 14, 1. (Cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")  
*B. A.* 9: *Nicias*, 14 sqq.  
*B. A.* 10: *Nicias*, 28, 3, where his body is thrown out before the gates of Syracuse and offered for a public spectacle.  
*B. A.* 56-245: *Nicias*, 29, describes the sufferings of the Athenian prisoners, and tells how some of the Athenians, captured in the disastrous Sicilian expedition, gained the favor of their masters, and perhaps their own freedom, if they could recite passages from Euripides, and adds that once a ship from Caunus, taking refuge from a pirate in the harbor at Syracuse was refused admission until

<sup>1</sup> References in this section are to the edition of the *Vitae* by Theod. Doehner, in two volumes (Paris, Didot, 1846-1847) and of the *Moralia* by J. F. Dübner, in two volumes (Paris, Didot, 1841) in the five-volume Plutarch of the Didot issue.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from A. K. Cook's *Commentary on THE RING AND THE BOOK*.

it was ascertained that among her passengers were some who could recite Euripides. *Nicias*, 24, 5, is authority for the location of the temple of Heracles of *B. A.* 228-232 and 243-245, and for the honors done to Heracles by the Syracusans. (Cf. *B. A.* 257; 268; *A. A.* 209.) Various details in this passage come from many sources, and are considered under the proper headings. The main lines of the action coming from Plutarch, the details from a large number of sources, we have here a brief instance of Browning's way of keeping two or more strata of sources together.

*B. A.* 257, under *B. A.* 56-245.

*B. A.* 268, under *B. A.* 56-245.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 483: *Solon*. The relation is uncertain.

*A. A.* 71-117; (also *A. A.* 208; 217-218; 2013-2018; 2075-2076; 5461-5650): *Lysander*, 14, 5 to 15, 6 (the conditions of surrender; the council); 9, 3 to 12, 7 (the battle of Aegospotami); *Timoleon*, 22, 1 (the demolition of certain fortifications); 25, 1 (engines of battery); *Alcibiades*, 36, 5 to 37, 4 (the battle of Aegospotami, when 'Lysander fell upon them of a sudden'); 38, 1 (the thirty tyrants); 38, 5 (suggested destruction of the Athenian democracy); *Pericles*, 8, 1-4 (Pericles the Olympian, his public buildings, his 'thundering and lightning'); 13, 3-4 (the undying vitality of his works, the help of Phidias); 13, 11 (Phidias and Pericles); 13, 9 (the Propylaea); 12, 1-4 (the glory of the buildings); *Lycurgus*, 12, 10-11 (the black broth of the Spartans); *Antiqua Instituta Laconica*, 2 (the same); *Lycurgus*, 13, 3-7 (the Spartans unfamiliar with elegant architecture); 14, 8 (Spartan women 'the only women who bring forth men'); *Antiqua Instituta Laconica*, 18 (epitaphs in Sparta only on the monuments of those who died in battle). The various details of the passages of the *Apology* brought together in this group include many small analogies to various other sources than Plutarch; these are set forth under the proper headings.

*A. A.* 128-129: *Pericles*, 32, 1 (Hermippus has Aspasia indicted for impiety); 33, 8 (verses of Hermippus satirizing Pericles); 31, 3-4 (the trial of Phidias for theft of gold from the statue of Minerva); 3, 3-4 (Cratinus and Teleclides satirize Pericles); 16, 2 (Teleclides attacks Pericles). (Cf. *A. A.* 3383-3384.)

*A. A.* 150: *Lycurgus*, 18, 1 (the familiar anecdote of the Spartan boy

and the stolen fox which he might be said to have "feigned was dormant though it gnawed.") (Cf. *Varia Laconum Apophthegmata, omissis auctorum nominibus*, 32.)

A. A. 208, "Someone from Phokis," under A. A. 71-117.

A. A. 209, under B. A. 56-245.

A. A. 217-218, under A. A. 71-117.

A. A. 286, "Shadow of an ass!": *Decem oratorum Vitae, VIII*, "Demosthenes," 64-65, 'When once at a meeting of the Athenians they would not suffer him (Demosthenes) to speak, he told them he had but a short story to tell them. Upon which all being silent, thus he began: A certain youth, said he, hired an ass in the summer time, to go from hence to Megara. About noon, when the sun was very hot, and both he that hired the ass and the owner were desirous of sitting in the shade of the ass, they each thrust the other away, — the owner arguing that he let him only his ass and not the shadow, and the other replying that, since he had hired the ass, all that belonged to him was at his dispose. Having said thus, he seemed to go his way. But the Athenians willing now to hear his story out, called him back, and desired him to proceed. To whom he replied: How comes it to pass that ye are so desirous of hearing a story of the shadow of an ass, and refuse to give ear to matters of greater moment? (Cf. "Browning and Aesop" and "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 448-450: *Aristides*, 5, 1, 'among the ten commanders appointed by the Athenians for the war, Miltiades was of the greatest name; but the second place, both for reputation and power, was possessed by Aristides.' (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron" and "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 990-991: *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 5. It is probable that Browning met with the decree in Meineke's *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum*, p. 40, where it is quoted from Plutarch.

A. A. 1180-1183: *Lysander*, 3, 1 (Lysander is made commander of the Lacedaemonian sea forces). (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")

A. A. 1224-1225: *Numa Pompilius*, 4, 9, 'a statement, also, that Aesculapius sojourned with Sophocles in his lifetime, of which many proofs still exist, and that, when he was dead, another deity took care of his funeral rites.' (Cf. A. A. 1254-1256; 2615-2623.)

- A. A. 1254-1256, under A. A. 1224-1225.
- A. A. 1456-1465: *Nicias*, 18, 1-7 (Nicias, sick and without defense, by a trick turns back the Syracusans coming to attack him after killing Lamachus); 23, 1-2 (Nicias is alarmed at an eclipse of the moon). (Cf. A. A. 3087; 3140; and cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Thucydides.")
- A. A. 1478-1494: *Alcibiades*, 18, 4 to 19, 3 and 20, 3 to 21, 4 (a detailed account of the disturbances ensuing on the mutilation of the Hermae). (Cf. A. A. 2602-2607; and cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Thucydides.") *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 28, 4, 'when Hermes is represented in an elderly form, though he has no hands or feet, his virile parts are tense — an indirect way of saying that there is little need for old men's bodies to be hard at work, so long as their power of reasoned speech is — as it ought to be — vigorous and generative.'
- A. A. 1609-1611: *Solon*, 21, 1. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 1991-1995: *Alcibiades*, 15, 7, 'Nor did he neglect to advise the Athenians to look to their interests by land, and often put the young men in mind of the oath which they had made at Agraulos, to the effect that they would account wheat and barley, and vines and olives, to be the limits of Attica; by which they were taught to claim a title to all land that was cultivated and productive.'
- A. A. 2013-2018, under A. A. 71-117.
- A. A. 2033-2034, "Prodikos — Who scarce could, unassisted, pick his steps": *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 15, 3, in which Prodicus is described as thin, sickly, and constantly taking to his bed through ill-health. (Cf. "Browning and Plato.")
- A. A. 2074, "bull's-blood," under R. & B. XI, 2410-2411.
- A. A. 2075-2076, under A. A. 71-117. See *Pericles*, 5, 1-2 (Pericles' patience).
- A. A. 2077-2079: *Nicias*, 23, 3-4 (Anaxagoras was the first to explain with assurance how the moon was eclipsed; he was imprisoned; Pericles had difficulty in procuring his liberty); *Pericles*, 35, 2-3, 'And now the vessels having their complement of men, and Pericles being gone aboard his own galley, it happened that the sun was eclipsed, and it grew dark on a sudden, to the affright of all, for this was looked upon as extremely ominous. Pericles, therefore, per-

ceiving the steersman seized with fear and at a loss what to do, took his cloak and held it up before the man's face, and screening him with it so that he could not see, asked him whether he imagined there was any great hurt, or the sign of any great hurt in this, and he answered No. "Why," said he, "and what does that differ from this, only that what has caused that darkness there, is somewhat greater than a cloak?" This is a story which philosophers tell their scholars.' *Pericles*, 6, 1 (Pericles not frightened by appearances in the heavens).

A. A. 2417-2418: *Lysander*, 7, 1 (Callicratidas died, having been beaten in a sea fight at Arginusae). (Cf. A. A. 5301-5302, and cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")

A. A. 2440-2446: *Alcibiades*, 1, 1-5 (the beauty and aristocratic training of Alcibiades); 26, 3-4 (the recall of Alcibiades from exile is proposed); 27, 1 (he is recalled); 32, 2 to 33, 2 (his return to Athens). The "petulance" of Alcibiades is frequently commented on by Plutarch. (Cf. "Browning and Plato" and "Browning and Thucydides.")

A. A. 2602-2607, under A. A. 1478-1494.

A. A. 2615-2623,<sup>1</sup> under A. A. 1224-1225.

A. A. 2637: *Pericles*, 8, 8; *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 8, 9. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.")

A. A. 2643-2644: *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 3, 3-4. Plutarch quotes the lines which Sophocles read. (Cf. A. A. 3500-3512, and cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Sophocles.")

A. A. 2862-2864: *Pericles*, 13, 2 and 4, mention Zeuxis and Phidias. But both names are too familiar to be attributed to any specific source.

A. A. 3087; under A. A. 1456-1465.

A. A. 3140, under A. A. 1456-1465.

A. A. 3253-3254: *Pericles*, 30, 4. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 3383-3384, under A. A. 128-129.

A. A. 3500-3512, under A. A. 2643-2644.

A. A. 5301-5302, under A. A. 2417-2418.

A. A. 5461-5650, under A. A. 71-117. "Bakis-prophecy" is well explained in *De Oraculis Pythiae*, 10 (cf. "Browning and Aristo-

<sup>1</sup> The detail of the setting up of the altar may be found in *Et. Mag.* s. v. Δεξιων.



- phanes" and "Browning and Lucian.") (On *A. A.* 5462-5464, see "Browning and Aesop.")
- A. A.* 5683, "in Arethousa by his grave": *Lycurgus*, 31, 5.
- "Numpholeptos": *Aristides*, 11, 4 (explains the origin of the term *Nympholepti*, 'possessed with the nymphs'); *Numa Pompilius*, 3, 7 to 4, 4 (Numa, after the death of his wife, frequented the groves, fields, and desert places, and was admitted to celestial wedlock in the love and converse of the goddess Egeria — goddesses being capable of intermixture by the body with mortal men). Browning's explanation of the poem in a letter to Dr. Furnivall, quoted in Nicoll and Wise's *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, I, 497, corresponds very accurately with these sources.
- "Pheidippides," 105; 108, "flung down his shield"; 111, "in he broke": these details may have been suggested by *Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses*, 3, 'But most report that Eucles, running armed with his wounds reeking from the fight, and falling through the door into the first house he met, expired with only these words in his mouth, "God save ye, we are well." Now this man brought the news himself of a fight wherein he was present in person.' (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.")
- "Echetlos," 29-30, "Woe for Themistokles — Satrap in Sardis court!": *Aristides*, 5, 4, 'Themistocles and Aristides being ranged together fought valiantly'; *Themistocles*, 29, 6 sqq. (the honors heaped upon Themistocles at the Persian court at Sardis).
- "Pietro of Abano," 203: *Sulla*. The relationship is indeterminate.
- "Aeschylus' Soliloquy," 40-62 (quoted under "Browning and Aeschylus"): *Cimon*, 8, 9-11, 'This act got Cimon great favor with the people, one mark of which was the judgment, afterwards so famous, upon the tragic poets. Sophocles, still a young man, had just brought forward his first plays; opinions were much divided, and the spectators had taken sides with some heat. So, to determine the case, Apsephion, who was at that time archon, would not cast lots who should be judges; but when Cimon and his brother commanders with him came into the theatre, after they had performed the usual rites to the god of the festival, he would not allow them to retire, but came forward and made them swear (being ten in all, one from each tribe) the usual oath; and so being sworn judges, he

made them sit down to give sentence. The eagerness for victory grew all the warmer from the ambition to get the suffrages of such honorable judges. And the victory was at last adjudged to Sophocles, which Aeschylus is adjudged to have taken so ill, that he left Athens shortly after, and went in anger to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near the city of Gela.' (Cf. "Browning and Aeschylus.")

## BROWNING AND JULIUS POLLUX

- A. A. 584-587: *Onomasticon*, 8, 112, Περὶ Γυναικοκόσμων ἀρχῶν: Γυναικοκόσμοι δὲ ἀρχοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῶν γυναικῶν. τὰς δὲ ἀκοσμοῦσας ἐξημίουν, καὶ τὰς ζημίας αὐτῶν γράφοντες, ἐξετίθεισαν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατάνου τῆς ἐν Κεραμικῷ.

## BROWNING AND SIMONIDES

- "Gerard de Lairese," 423-424: Simonides, 69 (in Hiller's *Anthologia Lyrica*) is probably the poem to which Browning alludes.

## BROWNING AND SOPHOCLES

- Pauline*, 963-965: *Antigone*, especially 808-822.  
 R. & B. IX, 1135-1137: *Oedipus at Colonus*, 1382.  
 B. A. 145, "'Region of the Steed'": *Oedipus at Colonus*, 668. (Cf. A. A. 3510-3511; and "Browning and Plutarch," under A. A. 2643-2644.)  
 A. A. 161-162, "what the pride Of Iokasté," refers to *Oedipus the King*. (Cf. A. A. 2938-2939.)  
 A. A. 274-278: "Argument of the *Antigone* by Aristophanes Grammaticus," "They say that Sophocles was honored with the command at Samos, having won favor in the production of the *Antigone*." (Cf. A. A. 2639-2641, and cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.")  
 A. A. 490-492: the ancient *Vita* of Sophocles informs us that according to one story, the monument of Sophocles was a siren, and Browning has taken the idea as equally applicable in the case of Euripides. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")  
 A. A. 1228-1241: *Vita* (Heracles in a dream disclosed to Sophocles where a golden crown stolen from the Acropolis was hidden; after discovering it, and receiving the reward, Sophocles made it an offering to Heracles).

- A. A. 1252-1254: *Vita*.  
 A. A. 2112: *Vita*.  
 A. A. 2638: *Vita*.  
 A. A. 2639-2641, under A. A. 274-278.  
 A. A. 2643-2644: *Vita*. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plutarch.")  
 A. A. 2938-2939, under A. A. 161-162.  
 A. A. 3510-3511, under B. A. 145.  
 A. A. 5165-5173, is based on details in the *Vita*. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias," on A. A. 5247-5250, for a description of the painting of Thamyris for which Sophocles perhaps served as a model.)  
 A. A. 5376-5381: *Oedipus at Colonus*. It is to be noted that not Iophon but, according to the argument to the play, 'Sophocles the grandson' produced this play.

## BROWNING AND SUETONIUS

- Paracelsus*, IV, 692-693: *Claudius*, 21.  
 R. & B. V, 627: *Caligula* is perhaps the source.  
 R. & B. V, 811, "Locusta's wile," may have been suggested by *Nero*, 33. (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal" and "Browning and Tacitus.")  
 R. & B. IX, 832-835: *Nero*, 10.  
 R. & B. X, 1833: *Nero* may be the source, but is probably not the only one.  
 "Pietro of Abano," 433-440: *Tiberius*, 14.  
 "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 33-40: *Augustus*, 29.  
 "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 49-69: *Augustus*, 27 (ten years' Triumvir); 26 (Consul thirteen times); 58 (Father of his Country); 46 (Augustus planted thirty colonies in Italy); 28 ("marble now, brick once"); 30 (drained Tiber); 30 (straightened the Flaminian way); 41 (donatives); 43 (half a hundred games); *passim* (extended the empire over all the world).  
 "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 119-122: *Augustus*, 79.  
 "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 125-135: *Augustus*, 91.

BROWNING AND TACITUS

- R. & B. V*, 811, "Locusta's wife": *Annals*, 12, 66-67. (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal" and "Browning and Suetonius.")
- R. & B. IX*, 886-887, embodies a villainous pun on the name of Tacitus.
- R. & B. XII*, 504: *History*, 5, 3-4.

BROWNING AND THUCYDIDES

- Paracelsus*, II, 427-430: Thucydides, 6, 56-57 (the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton). (Cf. *Pippa Passes*, II, 61-63.)
- Pippa Passes*, II, 61-63, under *Paracelsus*, II, 427-430.
- R. & B. IX*, 1109-1110: the scholium on Thucydides, 1, 126, 3, under the lemma Κύλων ἦν, states that some 'admiring the clear-cut quality of the account of Cylon, said that here the lion laughed, referring to Thucydides.' There is no "joke" in Thucydides.
- B. A. 7-8*: Thucydides, 6, 8-26. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")
- B. A. 11-18*: Thucydides, 8, 44, 1-3 (Rhodes goes over to the Peloponnesians).
- B. A. 42-43*: Thucydides, 8, 39, 3; 41, 1; 41, 4; 42, 2 (all these passages mention Caunus in connection with events at this moment).
- B. A. 58-63*: Thucydides, 1, 5, 2-3 (the commonness of piracy; Locrian pirates); 2, 32 (privateers off the northern part of Greece); 1, 10, 4 (ships without decks, 'equipped in the old piratical fashion'); 4, 9, 1; 8, 38, 2 (in these two passages and elsewhere in Thucydides, the κέλης, the smallest seagoing vessel, is mentioned).
- B. A. 106-108*: Thucydides, 7, 87, 1-3. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch," under *B. A. 56-245*.)
- B. A. 337-338*: Thucydides, 2, 15, 4 (the temple of Dionysus in the Marshes). (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias," and cf. *B. A. 348-357*, and *A. A. 199-202*.)
- B. A. 348-357*, under *B. A. 337-338*.
- A. A. 70*, may be reminiscent of the advice by Pericles to the Athenians (Thucydides, 2, 60-64) including the exhortation to confront their enemies 'not merely with spirit but with disdain.'
- A. A. 78-84*: Thucydides, 7, 77, 7, 'Men make the city and not walls or ships without men in them.' (Cf. *A. A. 94*, and cf. "Browning and Lucian.")

- A. A. 94, under A. A. 78-84.
- A. A. 199-202, under B. A. 337-338.
- A. A. 448-451: Thucydides, 1, 6, 3. (Cf. A. A. 880, "'Grasshoppers'"; 1040-1048 (the portion concerning the grasshoppers; and cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 495-496: Thucydides, 2, 43, 3. (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")
- A. A. 693: Thucydides, 7, 28, 4; 8, 15, 1.
- A. A. 880, under A. A. 488-451.
- A. A. 1040-1048, under A. A. 488-451.
- A. A. 1182-1184: Thucydides, 8, 95, 7-96, 3 (the revolt of Euboea). (Cf. Thucydides, 8, 5, 1; 8, 60; 8, 95, 2.) "The Confederacy" is a familiar term (*ἑννομαχία*) in Thucydides (e.g. 1, 130, 5).
- A. A. 1456-1457: Thucydides, 7, 50, 4. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")
- A. A. 1478-1494: Thucydides, 6, 27-28 (the mutilation of the Hermae). (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch.") The term "drunkard's frolic" may be from Dale's translation of Thucydides, in the Bohn edition, which Browning owned. (Cf. A. A. 2602-2607.)
- A. A. 1861: Thucydides, 4, 21-22; 4, 27-39. These passages are memorable in regard to Cleon's impudence and his demagogic methods. (Cf. A. A. 1870, and cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 1870, under A. A. 1861.
- A. A. 2440-2446: the various references to Alcibiades in Thucydides, 5-8, may have emphasized in Browning's mind the personal characteristics and aristocratic opinions of Alcibiades. (Cf. "Browning and Plato" and "Browning and Plutarch.") See particularly Thucydides, 6, 15, 4; 6, 28, 2; 8, 47-48, 4; 8, 63, 3; 8, 65; 8, 81, 3; 8, 97, 3.
- A. A. 2602-2607, under A. A. 1478-1494.
- A. A. 2848-2893: Thucydides, 1, 5, 3-1, 6, 6. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.")
- A. A. 3143-3144: Thucydides, 5, 2-3; 5, 6-10 (the close of Cleon's life). (Cf. A. A. 3350.)
- A. A. 3350, under A. A. 3143-3144.

BROWNING AND ULPIAN

"The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church," 79, and 99-100, mentions Ulpian with some criticism of his style.

BROWNING AND VALERIUS MAXIMUS

R. & B. VIII, 914-949: *De Dictis Factisque Memorabilibus*, 8, 1, *ad. fin.* Browning drew the story from the pamphlet of Arcangeli in the *Old Yellow Book* (Everyman's Library edition, p. 22).

BROWNING AND VIRGIL

*Pauline*, 526-528: *Aeneid*, 6, 136-144.<sup>1</sup>

*Paracelsus*, V, 123-125: *Georgics*, 1, 277-283. (Cf. A. A. 1681-1682; "Francis Furini," 146-147; and cf. "Browning and Ovid.")

*Pippa Passes*, I, 313, "*et canibus nostris*": *Eclogues*, 3, 67.

"Artemis Prologizes": *Aeneid*, 7, 765-777 (see under "Browning and Ovid").

"Waring," 54: *Aeneid*, 3, 658.

*A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, II, 150-152: *Eclogues*, 10, 69.

"Cleon," 1, "the sprinkled isles": *Aeneid*, 3, 126-127, "*sparsasque per aequor / Cyclades*."

"Dis Aliter Visum": this title is a phrase from the *Aeneid*, 2, 428.

"Mr. Sludge, 'the Medium,'" 1431, "the Golden Age": *Eclogues*, 4, 1-47. (Cf. R. & B. IX, 282-286; 1227; X, 780-781.)

R. & B. IV, 1144, "Paphos": *Aeneid*, 1, 415-417. But Homer is the likelier source, in view of the context (see "Browning and Homer").

R. & B. V, 672, "Thyrsis to Neaera": Thyrsis appears in *Eclogues*, 7; Neaera, in *Eclogues*, 3, 3.

R. & B. V, 1282, "Ultima Thule": *Georgics*, 1, 30.

R. & B. V, 2009-2011: *Georgics*, 4, 237-238. (Cf. "Browning and Pliny.")

R. & B. VII, 977-979: *Georgics*, 4, 87. (Cf. "Browning and Pliny.")

R. & B. VIII, 133: *Aeneid*, 1, 73.

R. & B. VIII, 136, mentions Virgil, in comment on his diction.

<sup>1</sup> References are to Heyne's edition of the works of Virgil.

- R. & B. VIII, 358-359: *Georgics*, 2, 458. The word in Virgil means *if*, not *inasmuch as*.
- R. & B. VIII, 472-473: *Aeneid*, 1, 278.
- R. & B. VIII, 1182: *Aeneid*, 1, 150. Browning found the phrase quoted in this connection in the First Anonymous Pamphlet in the *Old Yellow Book* (Everyman's Library edition, p. 154).
- R. & B. VIII, 1520, "*passibus aequis*": *Aeneid*, 2, 724.
- R. & B. IX, 91, "*E pluribus unum*": *Moretum*, 103.
- R. & B. IX, 119, "Phoebus plucks my ear": *Eclogues*, 6, 3-4, "Cynthia aurem Vellit et admonuit." Cf. Milton's *Lycidas*, 77.
- R. & B. IX, 282-286: *Eclogues*, 4, 5-7 (cf. *ibid.* 4, 1-47). (Cf. R. & B. IX, 1227; X, 780-781; and "Mr. Sludge, 'The Medium,'" 1431.)
- R. & B. IX, 368, "*Heu prisca fides!*": *Aeneid*, 6, 879.
- R. & B. IX, 541: Amaryllis is mentioned in *Eclogues*, 1, 31; 1, 37; and elsewhere.
- R. & B. IX, 657-658: *Aeneid*, 1, 348-364.
- R. & B. IX, 747-748: *Eclogues*, 8, 41.
- R. & B. IX, 1227: *Eclogues*, 4, 6. (Cf. R. & B. IX, 282-286.)
- R. & B. IX, 1242: *Georgics*, 1, 151-154.
- R. & B. IX, 1299: *Aeneid*, 1, 203.
- R. & B. IX, 1333-1335: *Eclogues*, 3, 1-2. (Cf. R. & B. IX, 1564, for another instance in which Bottini slightly misquotes — see under "Browning and Horace.")
- R. & B. IX, 1345-1350: *Georgics*, 4, 315-332 and 554-558.
- R. & B. IX, 1376-1378: *Eclogues*, 4, 60 (adapted).
- R. & B. X, 297-298, mentions the Virgilian *sortes*.
- R. & B. X, 780-781, under R. & B. IX, 282-286.
- R. & B. X, 997, is perhaps reminiscent of *Aeneid*, 1, 44.
- R. & B. X, 2088-2090: *Aeneid*, 2, 519-522.
- R. & B. XI, 1922-1923: *Aeneid*, 8, 314-315.
- R. & B. XI, 1925-1928: *Aeneid*, 8, 352-354, where Evander says that his Arcadians believed that they had often seen Jupiter himself on the Capitoline hill, shaking his darkening aegis in his hand and driving the storm-clouds. "Aegiochus" is a common epithet of Zeus in Homer. (Cf. "Jove Aegiochus," in R. & B. XI, 1936.)

- R. & B. XI, 1932: Mr. A. K. Cook's note is "'The motto' is, I suppose, the second line quoted from Virgil in the note on 1922-3, Gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata." (*Aeneid*, 8, 315.)
- Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2136-2137, may be associated with *Georgics*, 2, 146. But the detail is mentioned by many ancient writers, notably Pliny, in his *Epistles*, 8, 8.
- Fifine at the Fair*, 1329-1333: *Georgics*, 2, 376-384 (goats became sacrifices to Bacchus and associated with Bacchic contests because they offended Bacchus by eating the vines). See A. A. 1449-1455 for Browning's use of the passage in the *Georgics* which follows the one here adduced.
- A. A. 1449-1455: *Georgics*, 2, 385-392 (the farmers of Ausonia, in honor of Bacchus, hang tiny waving masks of him from the tall pine).
- A. A. 1681-1682, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123-125.
- The Two Poets of Croisic*, 585-588: *Aeneid*, 1, 144-147 (Neptune and Triton "shove" the vessels of Aeneas); *Georgics*, 1, 31, mentions the sea-nymph Tethys; *Aeneid*, 5, 825, mentions Thetis in the retinue of Neptune. (Cf. *The Two Poets of Croisic*, 621.)
- The Two Poets of Croisic*, 621, under *ibid.* 585-588.
- "Pan and Luna": *Georgics*, 3, 384-393.
- "Pambo," 50: *Eclogues*, 7, 4. (Cf. "Arcades Ambo.")
- "Francis Furini," 146-147, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123-125.
- "Arcades Ambo," the title, under "Pambo," 50.
- "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 64-74: *Aeneid*, 6, 789-806 (divinity is hinted at in 791).

#### BROWNING AND VITRUVIUS

- A. A. 5679-5685: Vitruvius, 8, 3, 16, 'In Macedonia, at the place where Euripides is buried, two streams approach from the right and left of his tomb, and unite. By one of these, travellers are in the habit of lying down and taking luncheon, because its water is good; but nobody goes near the stream on the other side of the tomb, because its water is said to be death-dealing.'



## BROWNING AND XENOPHON

- R. & B. X, 1698, "Know thyself": *Memorabilia*, 4, 2, 24. (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal.")
- A. A. 98, "flute-girl, dancing girl": *Symposium*, 2, 7-8.
- A. A. 333-335: *Hellenica*, 1, 7. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")
- A. A. 496: *Symposium*, 4, 21. (Cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")
- A. A. 664: *Symposium*, 4, 41, mentions Thasian wine as an expensive gratification. (Cf. A. A. 730; 1092; 1279; 1429; 2398; 5386; and cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.")
- A. A. 730, under A. A. 664.
- A. A. 1092, under A. A. 664.
- A. A. 1182: *Hellenica*, 1, 5, 1 (Lysander takes command of the Lacedaemonian fleet); 2, 1, 6-7 (he resumes command). (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")
- A. A. 1279, under A. A. 664.
- A. A. 1429, under A. A. 664.
- A. A. 1559, "the Flat-nose": *Symposium*, 5, 6 (a ludicrous debate between Critobulus and Socrates, in which the latter maintains that his nose is more beautiful than that of Critobulus, because its nostrils expanded upward are better adapted to catching scents from all quarters, and because a flat nose is no obstruction to the eyes). (Cf. "Browning and Plato.")
- A. A. 2047-2048, "ere the problem's solved — Why should I like my wife who dislikes me?": *Symposium*, 2, 9-10, 'Socrates observed, "From many other things, my friends, and from what this girl is now doing, it is apparent that the talent of women is not inferior to that of men, though they are wanting in bodily vigor and strength; so that whosoever of you has a wife, let him teach her with confidence whatever he would wish to have her know." "How is it, then, my dear Socrates," said Antisthenes, "that, if you think thus, you do not also educate Xanthippe, instead of having a wife the most ill-conditioned of all women that are in existence, and, as I believe, of all that ever were and ever will be?" "Because," replied Socrates, "I see that those who wish to be skilled in horsemanship do not choose the best-tempered horses, but those of high mettle; for they think that if they can master such animals, they

will easily manage any other horses. So likewise I, wishing to converse and associate with mankind, have chosen this wife, well knowing that if I shall be able to endure her, I shall easily bear the society of all other people." This remark was thought to have been made by no means inapplicably.'

A. A. 2398, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 2417-2419<sup>1</sup>: *Hellenica*, 1, 6, 26-34 (a full account of the battle of Arginusae, including the drowning of Callicratidas); 2, 3, 17-56 (a detailed account of the conflict in Athens between Theramenes and the other members of the Thirty, of the charges brought against him by Critias, of his defense, and of his execution); 2, 2, 15-23 (an account of how Theramenes, as envoy to Lysander and later to the Lacedaemonians, by long delays brought the Athenians to yield to the terms proposed by the Lacedaemonians). (Cf. A.A. 5301-5306; and cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

A. A. 5301-5306, under A. A. 2417-2419.

A. A. 5386, under A. A. 664. (But see "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 5461-5475: *Hellenica*, 2, 2, 23 (Lysander sailed into the Piraeus); 2, 1, 21-29 (the battle at Aegospotami); 2, 2, 20 (the

<sup>1</sup> Theramenes, having helped the Four Hundred into power, became the leader of the opposition to them at Athens (Thucydides, 8, 89) and was largely instrumental in deposing them (*ibid.* 90-98). Four years later, after the battle of Arginusae, Theramenes and Thrasybulus were commissioned by the generals to save as many as possible of the crews of the vessels that had been sunk. A storm made the execution of the order impracticable. To divert from himself the popular anger, he accused the generals of the neglect by which so many lives had been lost, and was chiefly instrumental in the condemnation of the generals. Later, after having been instrumental in securing the surrender of Athens to the Lacedaemonians, he took the chief part in establishing the Thirty, and when he remonstrated against their tyrannical proceedings, was put to death by them, though he was one of their number. By his constant trimming, he had earned the nickname of *Kόδοπος* — a boot for either foot (*Schol. Ran.* 541, 970). He seems generally to have enjoyed popular favor, but not to have been trusted by either the democratic or oligarchical factions. Why Aristophanes should have referred to him as a fool in line 2419 of the *Apology* is obvious enough when one considers what a plague-spot he was to a true aristocrat such as Browning paints Aristophanes as being, and how he had just caused the deaths of several of the best generals of Athens, thus injuring the hopes of a favorable peace with Sparta based upon the victory at Arginusae. The chief sources of Browning's knowledge of the position of Theramenes at this time were probably Xenophon (*loci citati*) and Thucydides (8, 89-98).

Lacedaemonians set the destruction of the long walls among the conditions of peace); 2, 2, 22, 'The next day the ambassadors reported on what conditions the Lacedaemonians were willing to make peace; and Theramenes, as their spokesman, said that they should obey the Lacedaemonians, and destroy the walls. When some had opposed him, but far more agreed with him, it was resolved to accept the peace.' There is nothing in these passages that is not in Plutarch (see "Browning and Plutarch") unless it be the suggestion in the passage last cited for "'We obey'" (A. A. 5471).

A. A. 5481-5486: *Hellenica*, 2, 2, 15. But the direct source for these lines of the *Apology* was apparently Plutarch (see "Browning and Plutarch"); Xenophon in no way, however, conflicts with Browning or Plutarch.

A. A. 5513-5539 (also 5580-5588 and 5625-5650): *Hellenica*, 2, 2, 10; 2, 2, 19; 2, 2, 20; 2, 2, 23. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")